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Schultz, Hermann

Old Testament theology

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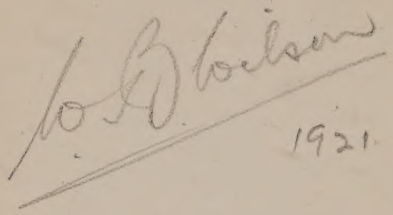

1921

OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

PRINTED BY MORRISON AND GIBB,

FOR

T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH.

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT, AND CO. LIMITED.

NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

TORONTO: THE PRESBYTERIAN NEWS CO.

Old Testament Theology.

THE RELIGION OF REVELATION

IN ITS

PRE-CHRISTIAN STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT.

BY

DR. HERMANN SCHULTZ,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN.

Translated from the Fourth German Edition

BY THE

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

1892.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE work of Dr. Hermann Schultz on Old Testament Theology has long been a standard authority on the important subject of which it treats. The author is one of the most accomplished exponents of that school of theological thought which is at present dominant in Germany. He stands high in the esteem of all parties; and it is thought by many that he has succeeded in discovering the *via media* between the positions of Biblical scholars like Delitzsch on the one hand and Stade on the other.

Biblical theology is a subject certain to receive in the immediate future from the Christian public, both of Great Britain and America, a steadily increasing share of attention. One of the characteristics of the age is the emphasis with which the Christian Churches are declaring that it is their duty as well as their privilege to interpret Scripture in the full light of present-day research. Hence the growing anxiety to know what the books of the Bible actually teach. It is this question which Dr. Schultz has undertaken to answer, from the historical point of view, in so far as the Old Testament is concerned. He has discharged his task in an eminently fair and judicial spirit; and he has written in so felicitous and lucid a style, and with such freedom from technical phraseology, that his work should be intelligible and instructive, not merely to clergymen, but to that rapidly growing class of educated laymen who, without being specialists

in theology, are nevertheless profoundly interested in the greatest problems with which the human mind has to deal. In churches where the voice of the lay representatives has as much influence in determining the doctrinal standards as that of the clergy, it is pre-eminently desirable that laymen should have access to a work like this, which, while thoroughly scientific and scholarly, is also distinguished by a singularly popular method of exposition. For these reasons it seemed to me that English readers, unfamiliar with German, ought to have the opportunity of ascertaining for themselves the exact views of such a master in this department of theological study as Dr. Schultz is admitted to be.

As the Hebrew in the notes has, as a rule, not been pointed, I have thought it well to add to the usual indexes of subjects and of passages quoted, an index of Hebrew words with the Massoretic points inserted. I may also state that no attempt has been made to transliterate Hebrew names, except where the subject under discussion rendered transliteration necessary.

For their kind assistance in correcting the proof-sheets, and for many valuable suggestions, I desire to tender to Dr. Schultz himself, and to the Rev. Wm. M'Gilchrist, B.D., Ardrossan, my most cordial thanks.

J. A. PATERSON.

EDINBURGH, *November* 1892.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

I TRUST that this book of mine, in its new form, may, in some measure however small, contribute to the increase among English readers of a really historical knowledge of that religion from which our own faith has sprung. I cannot, indeed, refrain from expressing the hope that in a land which possesses so many distinguished Old Testament scholars, the faults and shortcomings of this work may be leniently dealt with. I console myself at any rate with the thought that, in a field of study so extensive and so obscure as that of Old Testament theology, it will be long before it becomes possible for investigators to avoid making mistakes.

As the proof-sheets of the translation were passing through the press, I compared them with the original as carefully as my knowledge of English permitted. In a very few passages, where an exact translation seemed to me somewhat obscure, I have suggested a wider departure from the German than a translator would have felt himself entitled to make. I have also thought it right, in a few instances, to insert one or two new sentences—as for example, my references to the important work on the religion of the Semites, which Dr. Robertson

Smith has published since the last edition of my own book appeared.

Professor Paterson has executed the translation with as much skill as care; and while he has not followed the German, at the expense of the English idiom, readers may rely on his having given the meaning of the original with the utmost accuracy.

HERMANN SCHULTZ.

GÖTTINGEN, *October* 1892.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

MEANING AND METHOD OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

1. The name "Biblical Theology" has been applied at different times to very different sides of theological science. It has been used to denote a popular, as opposed to an ecclesiastical, scholastic presentation of Christianity. Storr takes the term in this sense, and so, too, does Bahrdt, although his general point of view is wholly different. In Pietist circles this is still its usual meaning. Again, it has been used to denote more particularly the creed of the early Christians as distinguished from the later development of doctrine in the Church.[1] Again, it has been employed for the purpose of emphasising the character of Christianity as a revelation in contrast to a rational theology, much in the same way as the expression "Bible-believer" has nowadays come to indicate one holding a particular view of revelation. Lastly, by Biblical theology has been understood a collection of proof-passages from the Bible for the more important divisions of ecclesiastical dogma. This is its meaning in the works of writers like Weissmann and Schmid.[2] In opposition to these uses of the word, we understand by Biblical

[1] So Büsching, Crusius, Gruner, Böhme, etc.

[2] In connection with the above, cf. Baumgarten-Crusius, *Grundzüge der bibl. Theol.* etc., § 8.

theology that branch of theological science which gives a historical presentation of revealed religion during the period of its growth. We mean to describe how, during the formation of our Biblical records, the religion which we ourselves profess, advanced towards its full development among the people of Israel. The subjects with which Biblical theology undertakes to deal are the moral and religious views which the sacred books contain, considered in their historical development and in their inner living connection.

The task of Biblical theology is thus purely historical, and the sources it uses are the books of the Bible. The question is not in what form does Christianity, as developed by the Church, present itself to the evangelical Christian as his religion, but simply what form did religion take during the various stages of religious life in Israel up to the close of the apostolic age. Hence we cannot, like the early Church, assume, without further inquiry, that the religious and moral material which we find there must be everywhere uniform in character, or even equally excellent. Whether that is the case, or how far it is so, cannot be determined till the close of our investigation, when, after a purely historical examination of the various stages of development, we have reached definite results regarding the moral and religious standpoint of each particular period.

But by speaking of a presentation of "revealed religion," we imply that the subject-matter to be dealt with has a homogeneous character of its own. We mean to describe, not various forms of religion which have merely an external connection of place or time, but a single religion in the various stages of its development, which stages consequently have an organic inner connection. Hence in such a presentation each member must be properly linked to its fellow. A common ligament of living growth must bind all the parts together. The presentation must be, not merely historical, but "genetic."

To the term "Biblical theology" we do not attach any special importance. It has become current through the works of Gabler, Schmid, and Oehler, and it seems to us decidedly preferable to the other term, "Biblical dogmatic," which de Wette and Hagenbach defend. We do not, however, prefer it because the name "Dogmatic" would denote, as Baumgarten-Crusius thinks, "the variable and changing, in a word, the human element," in the subject-matter of this science, for this objection is obviated by the more recent application of the word. We prefer it, in the first place, because dogmas, that is to say, hard and fast statements of doctrine, do not often occur in Scripture; in the next place, because we mean to describe the religious and the moral life as a connected whole; and lastly, because the notion of "dogmatic" would require us to combine all the religious views of the Bible into one harmonious scheme. Consequently, if this latter name were to find general acceptance, it would have to be restricted to such works as aim, like that of Lutz, at a "systematic presentation" of the religious ideas of the Bible. Lutz is therefore right in distinguishing (p. 6) between his own subject and Biblical theology "which has a thoroughly historical character." (Cf. v. Cölln, i. 6.)

2. Biblical theology is directly connected, first of all, with the exegesis of Scripture. The latter, being grammatical and historical, makes the student of the former acquainted with what each individual writer in the Bible wished to say to his own age regarding religious and moral subjects, and at what period in the history of Israel each delivered his message. Only in this way is a historical presentation possible. Hence, as a matter of course, the criticism of the Biblical books, both positive and negative, is, in a special sense, the foundation of our subject. This makes it impossible to solve the problems of Biblical theology in a way likely to win universal assent. As long as the results of the science of Introduction are still being called in question, even as regards their foundation

principles, opinions must differ as to the development of the Biblical religion. Why, even where there is essential agreement as to the principles of criticism, there are still many details, especially in reference to the Pentateuch and the Psalms, that are extremely debatable. In fact, the very latest investigations, particularly as regards the prophetical books, are still extending the boundaries of this debatable ground. On the one hand, however, it is only a bird's-eye view of the religious and moral ideas of long stretches of time that is aimed at, so that many points, in themselves debatable, cease to be important. On the other hand, a careful unfolding of the history of religion may, in many individual instances, prove helpful in settling questions of Introduction.

As a necessary preliminary to Biblical theology, one must study the expository works which deal with the doctrinal ideas of specially important single books or groups of books. Taken along with the works which trace single doctrines through all the different Biblical books, such writings would, if complete, provide us with almost all the material we require. We should then have the warp and the woof, out of which we could without much trouble weave the web of Biblical theology. Nevertheless, in this department, despite the many valuable contributions by painstaking investigators of proved ability which recent years have brought us,[1] Science has still plenty of work before her.

3. While unfolding the original elements of revealed religion, and thereby exhibiting the permanent basis of everything Christian, as well as the standard by which to judge every development of doctrine and morals in the Church, Biblical theology has of necessity a close connection with systematic theology. It provides what Schleiermacher already felt to be a desideratum in the teaching of doctrine, "a form of Scripture proof on a larger scale than can be got

[1] Especially Baudissin, Riehm, Kautzsch, Duhm, and the contributors to the *Theologisch Tijdschrift* and the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

from single texts." Hence the distinction between Biblical and Systematic theology must be all the more strongly insisted on; and it is just in the evangelical Church that it is most necessary to emphasise this distinction, because here the risk of confusing the two is greatest. Undoubtedly it is one of the most important and difficult tasks of modern theology to put an end to this vague confusion between Biblical theology and systematised evangelical doctrine,—a natural confusion in earlier ages, and one of which theologians were then quite unconscious, but which in the present day shows itself in conscious opposition to a sound historical conception of Holy Scripture, and, with a haughty disregard of the intellectual work of the Church, reappears in the form of a science of Christian doctrine based on the Bible documents. In this relation the rise of an independent science of Biblical theology is certainly of fundamental importance. It involves an acknowledgment that the subject-matter of the Bible cannot be the immediate foundation of Christian belief, that scientific theology has become conscious that the old evangelical presupposition that the doctrine of the Bible and the Christianity of the Church are in perfect harmony, is no longer tenable.

The distinction between these two branches of study is, in the first place, one of *form*. Systematic theology has to present in one harmonious whole the moral and religious consciousness of an evangelical Christian of the present day, as based on the completed development of the Bible and on the ecclesiastical history of Christendom resulting therefrom. Biblical theology has to show, from a purely historical standpoint, what were the doctrinal views and moral ideas which animated the leading spirits of our religion during the Biblical period of its growth. In the next place, the distinction is one of *contents*. What Biblical theology shows to have been the religious and moral contents of any particular period of Biblical development, is by no means proved thereby to be a doctrine of Christian faith or morals. It is but a single step in the

process of that religious development which was leading onwards to the perfecting of religion in Christianity. Now, the law of organic development is, that in every stage of healthy development all future developments are already lying hid, but hid only,—as germs are. Hence, in the product of each stage in the Biblical religion, the germ of the last and highest stage was present, but still only the germ. It is only the man of science, to whom the life-history of a plant is familiar, that can recognise in the germ its relation to the coming bloom and fruit, never the superficial observer.

In like manner, no result of Old Testament theology can become a constituent part of systematic theology till its further development in Christianity has been recognised, in other words, except through the medium of New Testament theology. True, there is not a single Christian conception but has its roots in the Old Testament. In so far, however, as it is still Old Testament, in other words, as it is presented in Old Testament theology, it has not yet developed into Christianity, and is therefore not yet Christian. There is not a single Old Testament conception which Christianity does not set in a new light, and not till then is it rendered perfect. It is sad to see how, for example, the representation of Old Testament morality in Genesis or in the war-psalms is falsified in order to juggle it into conformity with the morality of Him who did not bestow upon His disciples "the spirit of Elias," or how the highest phase of Christian morality is actually darkened in order not to contrast too strongly with the morality of an earlier age.[1]

Not of Biblical theology as such, therefore, but at most of New Testament theology, can it be said that it is coextensive with systematic theology. But even the results of New Testament theology do not, without further explana-

[1] The greatest feat of this sort which recent Protestant theology has achieved is, perhaps, the excursus on the deeds of Ehud and Jael in Bachmann's *Commentar zum Buche der Richter*, 1868.

tion, coincide with those of evangelical doctrine and ethics. For even in the New Testament, revealed religion finds expression through a multiplicity of persons whose individual peculiarities cannot claim to be the standard for all time. Notwithstanding all the unity of faith in the New Testament, none but the wilfully blind can help seeing the great variety of religious thought which it contains. The religious and moral consciousness of the New Testament writers is always pervaded by the ideas of their time, and influenced by their education and by their own special cast of thought. Hence the work of the Christian spirit, that has translated the religious and moral ideas of the men of the Bible into the speech and thought of other times, must not be declared useless on the one-sided dictum of a "Bible-believer."

Biblical theology is thus distinct in form and contents from systematic theology. But the former remains the necessary preliminary and the indispensable standard of the latter. It alone can give a pledge that the conscious faith of the Church, as of the individual, is not overstepping the bounds of historical Christianity.

4. Thus Biblical theology lies wholly within the circle of historical theology. Inside this circle, however, it keeps itself quite distinct from the department of this science, which, on the basis of the already completed religion of revelation, has to show how the fundamental doctrines of Christianity gradually became ecclesiastical dogmas, and how the communities and nations influenced by Christianity fared as Christians in the general history of mankind. In other words, Biblical theology is distinct both from the history of dogma and from Church history.

For us, to be sure, Biblical theology would form only a single section in the history of dogma, did we not recognise Jesus as the Christ, and therefore see in His personal manifestation, and in those developments of the religious life which are directly due to Him, the perfect manifestation

of moral and religious life. Could we see in the further development of the Christian Church a regular, uniformly growing continuation of what the Bible began, then Biblical theology would be merely the first section of the history of dogma, and the Bible merely the beginning of Christian literature. Such a result might be reached by carrying to its logical conclusion the Catholic view, that the infallible spirit of the Church can actually impart new religious knowledge as well as by believing in the immanence of the Divine Spirit in the human. But even one who, though not a Christian, takes an unprejudiced view of history, will hardly deny that, when contrasted with its ecclesiastical development, the Biblical stage of Christianity is "the classical." And for the evangelical Christian, as such, it is beyond question that all healthy ecclesiastical development in later times can only be the shaping and unfolding of what was revealed once for all in the Bible as something immediately living, as something manifest. For such an one the Bible is not merely the beginning, but also the classical standard of all Christian literature, and Biblical theology the description of that perfect typical development by which all later ecclesiastical work must be measured.

Consequently, Biblical theology comes into closer connection with the branches of historical theology that deal with the development of the people, among whom the true religion flourished till it reached its perfect form in Christianity. This province Biblical theology shares, in the first place, with "the history of the people of Israel." To this it stands in the same relation as the history of doctrine and morals does to the history of the Christian peoples. Into a general history of Israel, planned on a large scale, there can be woven, it is true, a history of its religion. Indeed, so far as its main features are concerned, it can scarcely be left out.[1] But just

[1] The great historical work of H. Ewald, a monument of astonishing industry and insight, is on a large scale, embracing not only the religion, but all the

as in a history of Greece and Rome a special place is due to the history of Greek art and of Roman law, because in these provinces of intellectual life those two nations have shown themselves ideal pioneers, so in the history of Israel the history of its religion demands special attention, because for us Israel is *the* religious people. Between the two provinces it is easy to draw a clear line of demarcation. Biblical theology has to set aside everything that bears merely on the history of Israel as a civil community having political relations with other nations, and, further, everything in which its civil development does not differ from that of other peoples, and is not determined by the peculiarity of its religion. Wherever there is a question as to the links connecting religious and civil life, Biblical theology simply takes its statements from the history of Israel as accepted facts.

This specified province Biblical theology likewise shares with Biblical archæology. The latter science undertakes to give a view of everything affecting Hebrew life, the conformation of the land under the influence of which this people developed, its domestic and social conditions, its occupations in private and public life, its enjoyments and its needs, its legal institutions, the average standard of morals in each age, and the forms of private and public worship. What it specially shares with Biblical theology, is the field of morals and of public worship. But even here the line of demarcation between the two sciences is clear and distinct. The subject-matter of Biblical theology is simply the current ideal of morality and the religious thoughts

surroundings of ancient Israel, and is therefore of much service for our purpose. Still, in consequence of the general object he has in view, even Ewald has no room for the more minute details of the history of religion. In the histories of Hitzig, Seineke, etc., all discussion of the finer questions of this sort is purposely avoided. In the work of Stade there is an attempt to unfold the fundamental thoughts of the religion of the people of Israel, but, to my mind, in a one-sided way. The chief problems of our science are dealt with in the works of Wellhausen, always in a most attractive and suggestive manner.

embodied in the public worship of God. On the other hand, the delineation of actually existing conditions and of external acts of worship, as well as of the finer distinctions in regard to customs and institutions, rights and duties, is the business of archæology. On such matters as these Biblical theology has simply to take from archæology its results as accepted facts.

With these three sciences, the history of Israel, Hebrew archæology, and Biblical theology, our historical knowledge of the development-period of revealed religion in Israel is complete. No other department of intellectual life ever reached among this people such a special or important development as to require separate scientific treatment. In the case of Israel, all questions of law, constitutional history, and art may be discussed without loss in connection with history and archæology.

5. Biblical theology has thus a well-defined province of its own among the separate departments of theology. Indeed, it is one of the most indispensable branches of theological science. In it alone the labours of the expositor and the critic arrive at definite results, by which may be tested at once their soundness and their thoroughness. It clears the way for systematic theology, inasmuch as by defining the true character of primitive Christianity, it fixes the limits and guarantees the Christian standpoint of every system of faith and morals which aims at being Christian. As a historical presentation of the original and complete development of the true religion, it serves as an introduction to the history of the progress of Christianity, and gives us the true standard by which to estimate the value of every later ecclesiastical form. Biblical theology is thus, as it were, the heart of theological science, which, by working upon the original sources, gathers the life-blood into one great centre in order to pour it back again into the veins, so that the theological life of the existing Church may be kept strong and healthy.

But it is only as a whole that Biblical theology has this commanding position, and it is only from belonging to such a whole that a single section of it, like Old Testament theology, obtains its importance. Apart from its complete development, apart, that is, from its final stage, Old Testament theology would be but a poor standard for Christian faith and Christian morals.

6. Accordingly we must, after a careful chronological sifting of the extant documents, determine by purely historical tests what were the moral and religious principles which at each separate period of Israel's history were either expressly asserted or else implied in its forms and ceremonies, taking into account only those circles which eventually proved themselves the successful exponents of a healthy development. And this historical result must not in any way be either judged or settled from the standpoint of Christianity as developed by the Church, or from that of any philosophical school or of one's own mode of thought.

It is self-evident that Biblical theology can be a profitable study only to one who is able to bring himself into living sympathy with the spirit of that religion. No spiritual movement can or will reveal itself in all its truth except to one who, having come under its charm, keenly appreciates its real meaning, and takes an interest in all its peculiar characteristics. Still it does not follow from this that one has a right to speak of a special theological method any more than an art-historian should speak of an æsthetic, or a historian of literature of a poetic, method.

7. The only writings which can be regarded as the special and direct sources of Biblical theology are those which form the canon of the Old and New Testament. For, even if we lay no special stress on the name "Biblical," but look simply to the object we have in view, our task is to give a history of the development of revealed religion as consummated in Christianity, not a history of all the religious and moral

products of the Jewish national spirit. Hence we can employ as direct sources only those writings which are the outcome of that religious movement which culminated in Christianity; in other words, as compared with the canonical Scriptures, the kindred writings of later Judaism and of early Christianity cannot be regarded as real sources, but only as explanatory and preparative.

8. But even the books of both Testaments would not be satisfactory authorities for an investigation into the historical development of revealed religion, were it true, as some scholars have surmised, that these give us in great part merely the outer shell of the popular religion, and that, since the time of the patriarchs, there existed among the higher classes an esoteric religion that was marked by a deeper grasp of religious thought.[1] Whether this theory points to particular doctrines, such as the belief in immortality, which de Wette had in view, or regards Moses as having been initiated into the esoteric religion of the Egyptian priesthood, of which religion he promulgated only the outer form, or finally holds, with Autenrieth, that a primitive Canaanitish school of philosophy taught the doctrines of monotheism, love to one's neighbour, and immortality, and that through its oldest pre-Mosaic production, the book of Job, this philosophy was introduced into Israel by David, but not wholly incorporated into the Hebrew national religion till the time of the Babylonian captivity, any such theory would make a real history of revealed religion for ever impossible. For us the Biblical religion which would then remain would no longer have any interest. But if we succeed in pointing out in the Biblical books a healthy inner development of religion, and find that men like Isaiah, the

[1] Literature.—Reinhold, *Die ebraeischen Mysterien*, 1788. Autenrieth, *Ueber das Buch Hiob*, 1823. De Wette on Psalm xvii. 15; cf. *Biblische Dogmatik*, § 113, 114.—Zachariae, "Von der Herablassung Gottes zu den Menschen" (*Philosophisch-theologische Abhandlungen*, ed. Perschke, 1776, p. 541).

Deuteronomist, and others, who would surely have been among the initiated, preach the same religion as the rest, in all simplicity too, and in the unmistakable language of perfect sincerity and transparent candour, this idea of an esoteric religion becomes the veriest phantom of the imagination.

It is somewhat different, however, with the question whether the Biblical writers may not have accommodated themselves to popular views. Wherever there is no philosophical teaching, there must be some such "accommodation." Everywhere outside the language of science the inner is represented by the outer in symbol and parable (Matt. xiii. 13), the spiritual is expressed by that which can be seen and handled. In the Sacred Scriptures this is such an outstanding characteristic of the language that, as Kayser remarks, not without reason, "the old sensuous language even in the Old and New Testament is without any deep metaphysical ideas, and its meaning must be grasped, that is, conceived of, through the senses; what is high and holy comes into touch with what is sensuous and low." In regard to words spoken and written for the people, we are entitled, nay, bound in duty, to make this supposition, and not to seek in the outer garment of the form for the true meaning of the speakers.

But we could be led astray only by accommodation as to contents, that is, if the Biblical writers had allowed their own religious thoughts to appear other than they were. But the spirit by which these religious teachers were animated, and their holy zeal regarding the religious attitude of the people, make us certain that they meant to express their own religious and moral convictions, that they did not keep the kernel for themselves and give their people the shell. Hence we may rest assured that even when they are dealing with undeveloped ideas, we can ascertain from their own words clearly and beyond a doubt what the true conviction is towards which they are striving to guide the nation.

CHAPTER II.

FORMS OF LITERATURE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES.

For the meaning of myth and legend in general, cf. F. G. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, 1857, Bd. i. 46–107. F. Ch. Baur, *Symbolik und Mythologie oder die Naturreligion des Alterthums*, 1824, Bd. i. 1–103. Otfried Müller, *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*, 1825. Schelling, *Philosophie der Mythologie*, 1856, Bd. i. 193 ff., and *Ueber Mythen historische Sagen und Philosopheme der ältesten Welt*, 1793 (*Ges. W.*, Abth. i. Bd. i. 43–83). W. Wackernagel, "Die epische Poesie" (*Schweizer Museum für histor. Wissenschaft*, i. 341 ff.). On the application of this to the books of the Bible, cf. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Bd. i. Aufl. 3, pp. 20–69, esp. pp. 49, 418 ff. Tuch, *Einleitung zum Commentar zur Genesis*, 1838, pp. i–xix. F. L. George, *Mythus und Sage, Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Entwicklung dieser Begriffe und ihres Verhältnisses zum christlichen Glauben*, Berlin 1837. Lutz, *Biblische Dogmatik*, pp. 51 f., 112 f. Bruno Bauer, *Religion des Alten Testamentes*, Bd. i. p. 17 ff.—For particular points in connection with the question before us, cf. Fr. W. Schultz, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte nach Naturwissenschaft und Bibel*, 1865, a book, the weakness and illogical character of which has been well pointed out by Ed. Riehm (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1866, iii. p. 547 ff., cf. esp. p. 572). Herm. Hupfeld, *Die heutige theosophische oder mythologische Theologie und Schrifterklärung*, 1861. Historical, cf. Diestel, "Bibel und Naturkunde in den Zeiten der Orthodoxie" (*Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1866, ii. 223 ff., iii. 483 ff.; and his *Geschichte des Alten Testamentes in der christlichen Kirche*, 1869, p. 723 ff. On Genesis vi., cf. Schrader, *Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der biblischen Urgeschichte*. —The principal treatises against the view we are about to

advocate: Hölemann, *Einheit der beiden Schöpfungsberichte*; *Apologetische Bibelstudie mit einem Sendschreiben an Herrn Domherrn Dr. Kahnis*, 1862. Engelhardt, *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1856, 401 ff. Hofmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, i. 86 ff.; *Schriftbeweis*, i. 265 ff., 408 ff. Kurtz, *Die Ehen der Söhne Gottes mit den Töchtern der Menschen*, 1857. Keil, "Die Ehen der Kinder Gottes mit den Töchtern der Menschen" (*Zeitschrift für luther. Theologie und Kirche*, 1855, 220 ff.; 1856, 22 ff., der Fall der Engel).

1. The writings from which we have to ascertain the essence and trace the development of revealed religion, include every form of literary production found among the Hebrews. Purely dogmatic or philosophical teaching is, however, almost entirely wanting. The range of teaching is restricted in a most practical way to the needs, the questions, and the circumstances of the particular age. Even the moral sections of the law, and the sayings of the prophets and sages are couched in thoroughly popular language without any of the art of the schools. It is only towards the close of this whole epoch, *e.g.* in Ecclesiastes, that we find anything akin to a philosophical mode of treatment. Of course, the writings that give the simplest and fullest explanation of their religious standpoint, are such as were directly intended for religious and moral instruction. From these, with a knowledge of the circumstances in which they arose, one has no difficulty in finding the desired information.

The task is more difficult when the pieces to be dealt with are strictly poetical. For even when these are of a religious character, one has always to bear in mind the peculiarities of poetry, its instinctive appeal to the senses, and its love for hyperbole. Still more is this the case when the pieces are secular, and do not betray their religious background, unless involuntarily. This is true of the secular folk-song and of the earliest form of epic poetry, with its instinctive tendency to a naïvely sensuous presentation of the spiritual, as

is the case in all the oldest traditions of the primitive age of Israel. It is equally true of the secular drama, as in Canticles, where the spirit of the Old Testament religion can be detected only by a spiritual insight more than usually keen. On the same level we have the "vision," so frequent in the prophetical books, in which the spiritual manifests itself to the senses, not as an object of thought, but of inner contemplation, framed in a setting of constantly recurring forms;—next, the "symbol," which depicts a religious thought by an outward act; and then the "parable," in which eternal truths are dressed in the garb of simple stories from nature and from the life of the people. Lastly, we must also, in a certain sense, include in this category prophecy proper, inasmuch as it, too, describes in a variety of ways the eternal truths of religion in relation to the development of the kingdom of God, clothing them in the language of poetry, and applying them in a concrete form to individual cases. In this whole province the problem is to distinguish between the real meaning and the mere form in which it is presented, to recognise as the essential feature of the highly-coloured picture, the religious, the moral, the eternal. In such cases, any one without an instinct for poetic expression will be sure to fall into innumerable misunderstandings.

2. To Biblical theology, the historical books present a problem of much greater difficulty. This is not due to their being of very varied literary value. That would not matter, since we only want to learn from them in what condition religion and morals were at the particular time. It is because we really cannot be sure that they are of equal historical credibility. For even in the case of an author animated by the deepest religious spirit and by the most disinterested love of truth, historical credibility depends on the nature of the documents at his command, and on his own nearness in time and place to the events which he describes. No book can be a trustworthy authority as to events from

which, without any intervening records, it stands hundreds of years apart. In the most favourable circumstances, it may, indeed, give an essentially accurate description of the general condition of such times. But what is for our object precisely the most important thing, it cannot do. It cannot give a trustworthy and detailed account of the religious colouring of these distant ages. Consequently, the historical credibility of the Biblical writings must vary. From this standpoint we have two classes of writings between which to distinguish. Those books of narrative, the authors of which were qualified, by personal position, or from possessing original documents, to form a historically trustworthy judgment regarding the things narrated by them, are for us authorities as to the religious development of the age which they describe. Such is the oldest form of Kings and Judges, and such, too, is the main document in Ezra and Nehemiah. But those books, in regard to which we have sufficient reason to doubt such qualification, are for us authorities as to the religious development of the age in which they arose, and the views of which they express. Thus the stories about pre-Mosaic times are authorities as to religion as it was in the age of their authors; and the book of Chronicles, though without value for an inquiry into the religion of Hezekiah's time, not to speak of David's, is one of the most important original authorities for understanding the state of religion at the close of the Persian period.

3. Consequently we shall not be surprised to find, in the Old Testament, books of narrative that are little to be trusted as historical authorities. But that will not make them less important in our eyes, for they still remain original authorities as much as before, although only for the age in which they were written. But here a more difficult question meets us, viz. whether, in view of the character which Christian faith, on the ground of its direct religious experience, assigns to

these books, there can be included in the Old Testament even books of narrative, the contents of which are not history at all, but wholly or partly legend and myth.

We here make the preliminary remark that, of course, the expressions myth and legend have not, in themselves, a fixed and rigid meaning. We certainly do not intend to homologate every meaning which has at one time or another been assigned to these words, or may on linguistic grounds be assigned to them. We shall therefore state, first, what we understand by legend, and then, what we understand by myth.

4. Wherever we see a nation stepping forth out of the darkness of the prehistoric age into the light of historical life, it invariably brings with it, as one of its most precious spiritual treasures, the national legend. How a nation originated; what its ancestors were like; how it first awoke and bethought itself of national glory,—all this is not handed down by history pure and simple, for which such ages have neither opportunity nor motive, but is preserved in song, in proverb, and in story; and being in this form handed on and enriched, this material is at last combined into a single whole by virtue of the poetic spirit in the nation,—that spirit in which resides the mysterious motive power that impels each people to undertake its own special task among the family of nations.

Wherever the memory of a period as yet without a literature is transmitted orally, we always find legend. A nation wreathes around the figures of its ancestors and the places famous in its earliest days a many-coloured garland of spontaneous poetry—not a garland of fiction or of falsehood. To the popular mind, the figures of primeval days become instinct with life, dowered with the vigour of imperishable youth. Hence in legend there is invariably a historical kernel. But while it is the task of criticism to extract the historical kernel from history which ignorance or falsehood has garbled or destroyed, legend confronts the investigator as a unity

which does not admit of his separating the kernel from its adornment—that is to say, as itself a historical fact, and that, too, one of the weightiest. Still it readily reveals itself as legend. It longs to be loved and prized as such; it does not wish to borrow the false adornment of historicity. In legend, persons and times assume a superhuman character. Heaven and earth do not keep apart as in a historical age. The laws of probability, chronology, and development retire into the background. But, above all, the chief figures become typical, the accepted models of the nation's character, and of its task in history. Consequently, legend lets us look into the innermost heart of a nation and watch the flow of those living springs from which its historical life wells up.[1] Hence the perennial freshness of legend; hence the feeling of having to do with figures of flesh and blood, more real than those of history. Indeed, one never feels so much at home in history as in legend. One sits by the hearth in a people's home and listens there to the very breathing of its inner life.

That the people of Israel did preserve the memory of its earliest days, not in history, but in legend, must be regarded as self-evident, unless we are willing to think of that people as crippled in one of the noblest attributes of nationality. Whoever, for dogmatic reasons, questions the existence of such "legends" in the Old Testament, must assume that Israel's legendary history has been lost to us, and that, in the sacred writers, its place has been taken by a knowledge of history miraculously acquired. Certainly an idea as fanciful as it is devoid of religious support! For how could the filling of the sacred writers with the spirit of true religion help them to a special knowledge of historical facts? Nowhere within the range of our experience does a growing fulness of this spirit tend to a

[1] In the same way, the characteristic features of a Greek are much more distinctly seen in Odysseus and Achilles, and those of a German in Siegfried and Hagen, than in any historical personages belonging to these nations.

growing certainty in the domain of experimental knowledge. On such a theory, what would become of the value attached to original documents, and to the testimony of eye-witnesses?

This fanciful idea depends entirely upon the groundless prejudice that legend is not a suitable medium for the spirit of revelation to employ. But a narrative does not become a specially suitable medium for revelation because it is in exact correspondence with fact. In this respect even the historical books in our Canon vary according to the talents and the position of the writer, and the authorities at his command. Indeed, they are all far inferior, so far as facts are concerned, to the histories which modern science compiles from official documents. Neither does this fitness depend upon giving trustworthy information about the people of revelation. Josephus does not belong to the Canon, because he writes Jewish history; and a history of Israel from the standpoint of Tacitus, in spite of its historical excellence, would not be in its proper place among the sacred books. History itself becomes sacred history, that is to say, a medium of revelation, simply and solely because it either places us, by means of original documents, in direct contact with the development of revealed religion, or, being handled in the spirit of that religion, shows us thereby a stage of it. And the Holy Spirit, of course, excludes deceit and lying. Still He does not render impossible forms of presentation which may not appear to us quite permissible, but which were, nevertheless, in perfect harmony with the view of the period in question, as, for example, history written with a purpose (*Tendenzgeschichte*) and pseudonymity. For it is only the moral standard actually in force at the time that can be taken into consideration. Our method of writing history the ancient world did not know, and did not aim at. It was far less concerned about ascertaining the details of what had actually happened than about expounding or

defending the great principles and truths exemplified in history. Still less does the Holy Spirit exclude error or ignorance regarding matters of fact. This same Spirit—and there is not a second—did not make Luther the equal of Humboldt or Laplace in scientific knowledge, or Augustine comparable as a linguist and historian to Sallust, Thucydides, or Grimm. All scientific knowledge depends upon the gift of keen observation and the power of skilfully combining and ingeniously testing the various facts obtained by means of such observation. The spirit of revelation, on the contrary, illumines the moral and religious life. It gives a consciousness of the divine will. Hence it places even the phenomena of nature in a new light, and specially fits a man to judge of nature and history from the standpoint of religion. The keenness of his historical instinct did not teach Tacitus the ways of God, or make him see in the divine kingdom founded by the Jesus whom he so despised, the centre of the world's history. The matchless breadth of his views regarding nature did not lead Aristotle to statements like "Let there be light," and "The heavens declare the glory of God." But on such matters the spirit of holiness can neither increase nor correct the inductions of science. Hence it cannot prevent a historian imagining that he is giving us history when there is only legend.

Now the characteristic spirit, to which the special achievements of a people are due, finds expression in the legends of that people; and these legends are themselves due to the influence and the critical powers of those men who have the creative instinct of that people most strongly developed within them. Hence the legends of Israel must have been shaped and fashioned by that Spirit which determined the special task assigned by God to that people, in other words, by the Holy Spirit of divine revelation as manifested in the true religion. These legends must therefore have been due to the men who were the religious leaders of Israel, and who guided

the development of that nation's religion. In fact, legend must be regarded as fitted in a higher degree than history to be the medium of the Holy Spirit. For in history every figure expresses only in an approximate and imperfect fashion what the Spirit at work in that particular people desires. In the legend, however, it is this very Spirit which moulds these figures and gives them flesh and blood. They become model-figures, ideal characters. They show in unfading clearness and beauty the natural Israel on which the spirit of revelation is at work. Hence the peculiar characteristics of Israel as the religious nation *par excellence* never find such accurate and vigorous expression in any historical personages as in those met with in the patriarchal legends. Abraham is for Old Testament revelation a more instructive figure than all the kings of Israel from Saul to Zedekiah. In Jacob-Israel the Israelite is more truly delineated than in any personage mentioned in Kings or Chronicles. Hence the matchless value of patriarchal legend for purposes of edification. Where we meet with legend, it cannot warrant any conclusion on our part as to the religious development of the age of which it treats; but for giving us a knowledge of the religion of the age out of which it springs, it is the most valuable material we possess.

5. As history springs from legend, doctrine springs from myth; that is to say, from thoughts, embodied in narrative form, concerning the essence of the phenomenal world. In myth, transcendental knowledge previously acquired is not, as in a parable, purposely veiled in a symbolic garb, but form and contents are born together, and that spontaneously. The whole presents itself ready-made as an actual fact. Myths are "discovered rather than invented." Being invariably simple and perfectly apposite, they have all the appearance of intrinsic necessity. Hence the inclination to regard them as sacred. In such symbols and myths, the sense appeals directly to the spectator or hearer through the external object

or history, just as it was first directly apprehended in them (Welcker, i. 56, 75).

Beyond human history and legend begins the region accessible only to faith. Thus myth, as the quasi-historical delineation of what faith has grasped, introduces legend, giving us as a kind of legendary prelude an account of creation, of the ideal development of man, and the meaning of his material and spiritual nature. It next works its way deep into the structure of legend, mostly, it is true, toned down in a Euhemeristic fashion, so that the gods of antiquity and the phenomena of nature, taken in the sense of nature-religion, are reduced to the level of human heroes, with human joys, griefs, and struggles.

Finally, as the myth of human destiny, it carries up history to the eternal again, and completes the circle of vision. The formation of myth ceases with the times in which the nature-religions are shaped and modified by the peoples in naïve freshness and vivacity. Where a religion, regarded as fully matured, has become an occult doctrine in the hands of priests and scribes, there may very well be a further artificial development of myth, but there is no longer any genuine creation of it. The proper time for forming myths is, as Max Müller has correctly maintained, the time when languages are growing. Myth and language arise together. Such myths, closely and inseparably connected in most cases with national legends, every people brings with it from remote antiquity. To some extent they are the common possession of entire stocks, that afterwards become divided. But they get a different stamp according to the national genius and religious development of each individual branch. For "a myth can be enlarged and adorned, and even united with another as if by a process of inoculation or amalgamation" (Welcker, 75). Such myths are among the noblest possessions of early peoples. While bearing the imprint of the freshness of the

human spirit in its infancy, they also witness to the maturity of a time when but few great things were observed with unsophisticated eyes.

That in this respect also, Israel did not come poor and with empty hands out of the bosom of the larger family of nations to which it belonged, is as self-evident as that it did not, on beginning its separate existence, create a new language or new national habits and customs, but only developed in its own way those which it already possessed. It is equally clear that the later spiritual religion of Israel cannot of itself have produced such myths, but that they date from times in which the religion of the Hebrew race was still a nature-religion. Nor can there be any valid reason why such myths should not have found their way into the Bible. The mythical ideas about the origin of the world and of man, held in common by the primitive Semites, naturally took in each tribe a particular form, according to the cast of its spirit and religion. Thus in Israel, too, the spirit which sustained and developed Israel's religion could appropriate such myths as raw material, and saturate them with its true and enduring beliefs concerning God, the world, and man. As long as Israel's religion was in full vigour, it would be in a position to appropriate and incorporate such material as came to it from without. It was only when it had ceased to grow, and, having lost its vitality, had become conscious of its weakness, that it would hold shyly aloof from such influences.

When myths were thus adopted, their original form would necessarily remain and indicate their kinship with the stories of a wider circle of nations. But in this common form the religious peculiarity of Israel must have stood out in all the greater contrast to whatever was foreign. The spirit that was creating Israel's religion would have to remould the distinctive contents of these stories, and, as a matter of course, despite the affinity of form, reproduce them from within and

purify them. Thus myth grows into revelation-myth. And, in fact, it is undeniable that the earlier myths of the Persians, Hindoos, Phœnicians, and, above all, of the Chaldeans, are closely akin in form to the Bible stories. But as regards their religious character, the difference is as great as the difference between the religions of these nations and the religion of revelation. In the Old Testament the myth "is born again by the creative power of the living self-revealing God" (Riehm).

This revelation-myth is the most appropriate of all dresses in which to present the true religion. In this form its content can be unfolded in the freest manner, because the form adapts itself readily and naturally to it. Hence it surpasses every other kind of narrative. With its marvellous childlike beauty, in which there lie the deepest truth and wisdom, it speaks straight to the heart. For the deepest intellect it is deep; for the child it is winning and simple. It is the brightest gem in the Old Testament. The case is different, of course, where there lie scattered, here and there in the national legend, fragments of the mythical treasures of a nature-religion which the true religion has not properly assimilated. Having been toned down in Euhemeristic fashion, and having thus lost their vitality, such fragments have no religious value for Israel. But out of the myths appropriated by the religion of Israel, and independently worked up, we have to gather the religious purport, though, of course, only as proof of the religious development of the age which appropriated them.

6. Of the legendary character of the pre-Mosaic narratives, the time of which they treat is a sufficient proof. It was a time prior to all knowledge of writing, a time separated by an interval of more than four hundred years, of which there is absolutely no history, from the nearest period of which Israel had some dim historical recollection, a time when in civilised countries writing was only beginning to be

used for the most important matters of State. Now wandering herdsmen have invariably an instinctive dislike to writing. In fact, at the present day, it is considered a disgrace among many Bedouin tribes in the peninsula of Sinai to be able to write. It is therefore impossible that such men could hand down their family histories, in themselves quite unimportant, in any other way than orally, to wit, in legends. And even when writing had come into use, in the time, that is, between Moses and David, it would be but sparingly used, and much that happened to the people must still have been handed down simply as legend. Besides, the legendary character of these stories is proved by the superhuman proportions assigned to time and power, while at the same time no emphasis is placed on the miraculous. Thus the patriarchs are described exactly after the fashion of ancient heroes.[1] The length of their lives before and immediately after the Flood are whole epochs,[2] and the periods of time are given in round numbers that are typical.[3] In fact, this mode of representation did not lose its influence during Israel's Palestinian history.[4] That we are dealing with legend is indicated by the disregard of historical probability, and by the easy tolerance of contradictions in many passages of Genesis which, nevertheless, retain to the full their evidential value in spite of the ridicule which infidelity has frequently cast upon them. When a Cain builds cities, and is afraid of the blood-avenger; when all kinds of animals enter a vessel like the ark; when the waters rise fifteen feet above all the mountain tops, at a period when there were already civilised States in Egypt and in the Euphrates valley; when Abraham, whose begetting of Isaac was a miracle, becomes afterwards the father of many sons; when Sarah, who mocks at the promise

[1] Gen. xiv., xxix. 9 ff., xxxi. 45 ff. (Gilead, Mizpah), xxxii. 23 ff., xxxiv. 25 ff.
[2] Gen. v., ix. 29, xxv. 7, xxxv. 28 (on the other hand, vi. 3).
[3] Gen. v. 23, vii. 4, viii. 6, 10, 12.
[4] Judg. iii. 11, 30, v. 31, viii. 28, xv. 16; Josh. v. 6; Deut. xxix. 5, etc.

of a son, becomes the object of Abimelech's intrigues, and so forth,—all this is perfectly natural and unobjectionable in a legend that has been composed out of a number of varying traditions. Were it history, this would be in the highest degree perplexing and inconceivable.[1]

In post-Mosaic times this manner of presentation is certainly no longer the predominant one; but many traces of it can still be detected both in the history of the conquest and in the narrative of pre-Davidic times.[2] The presence of legend is further shown in the naïve way in which heaven and earth commingle and the spiritual becomes material,—a method of presentation wholly different from poetic description by vision and dream. Whoever sees history in this must come to such conclusions as that God was actually nearer to a Jacob-Israel than to an Isaiah or a Jeremiah.[3] This mode of narration is found all through Genesis, and less frequently till the time of David.[4] Finally, Genesis betrays its legendary character in the following ways. It often gives us the same story in several forms;[5] it delights to connect significant proper names or very ancient localities with stories which owe their origin solely to the sound of the name;[6] and, as if the history of a people were like that of a family,[7] it habitually makes the links of connection genealogical tables. The name Benjamin seems to me a specially clear instance of this. In all the narratives of the older popular cast, the members of this tribe are called Bnê(ha)-jemini, the very way the Bedouin tribes of the present day

[1] Gen. iv. 14, 17, vi. 19, vii. 2, 20, xvii. 17, xviii. 12, xx. 2, xxv.

[2] Ex. xii. 37; Josh. vi., viii., xvi.; cf. Judg. i. 7–36, xv. etc.

[3] Gen. iii. 21 f., vii. 16, xi. 5, xviii. 8, 21, xxvi. 2, xxviii. 13, xxxii. 24 ff.

[4] Ex. xix. 19 f., xxiv. 10, 12, xxxi. 18; Josh. v. 13 ff.; Judg. vi. 11 ff., xiii. 3–25; 2 Kings ii. 11, etc.

[5] Gen. xii., xx., xxvi., xxi. 22, xxvi. 26. The two accounts of the Flood.

[6] Gen. ii. 23, iii. 20, iv. 1, 16, 17, 25, v. 29, xi. 9, xvi. 11, 13, xviii. 12, 13, 15, xix. 22, xxi. 9, xxii. 14, xxviii. 19, etc. Bethel, Beersheba, Isaac, Jacob, Esau, etc.

[7] Gen. x., xxv. 13 ff., xxxvi.; cf. also Gen. iv. 1 ff. with Num. xxiv. 21, 22.

usually describe themselves.[1] It does not matter whether the word Jemini be taken in a purely geographical sense, when it would mean "Southern,"[2] a Hebrew thinking of himself as facing the east, or whether it have some other meaning. As the tribe, moreover, is reckoned among the sons of Joseph,[3] it is quite clear that Benjamin is simply the Hero Eponymus of a part of the tribe of Joseph, probably the southern part of it, and so he is represented as Joseph's younger brother.

If, for the reasons stated, the contents of the first eleven chapters of Genesis would at any rate be regarded as legendary, a more careful examination leads us to see that these stories are strictly mythical. Certainly it is only the first three chapters that have become revelation-myths, in this sense, that they present to us in the garb of a narrative the ideas of the true religion about conditions antecedent to experience. All the rest has been toned down to the character of legend after the Euhemeristic method which the Jewish Sibyl and the Church fathers[4] applied to the Greek legends about the gods. In these chapters, however, there are still dimly visible some very old recollections of four world-epochs, and of Titanic convulsions on the earth.

The stories about creation, the primeval condition of man, and the Fall, are myths. For whatever is external in the narrative eludes the grasp of the expositor; the religious ideas alone remain. This is best shown, in spite of themselves, by those expositors who on principle accept these narratives as history, and yet do not succeed in getting out of them any other meaning than the advocates of the mythical view. And certain as it is that the religious import of these stories is characteristic of revealed religion,

[1] Judg. iii. 15, xix. 16 ; 1 Sam. ix. 1–4, 21, xxii. 7 ; 2 Sam. xvi. 11, xix. 17, xx. 1 ; Ps. vii. 1 ; 1 Kings ii. 8.

[2] Ps. lxxxix. 13.

[3] 2 Sam. xix. 21.

[4] *E.g.* Origen, *De Principiis*, ed. Lommatzsch, p. 438.

it is equally certain that their form is not unconnected with a wide circle of myths found among other peoples. This might be doubted formerly when it was possible to see in the accounts of Sanchuniathon, Berosus, and Bundehesch, later compilations formed under Old Testament influences. But it has now been proved to the satisfaction even of one who is certainly not a credulous judge of the monumental writings discovered in Nineveh, that Berosus has, in his legends of the Creation and the Flood, faithfully used the original documents of his ancestral religion, a fact which tends to give credibility to those narratives of his that have not yet been confirmed. Besides, in these stories, speaking animals, miraculous trees, and such like are not introduced as anything astonishing,—like Balaam's speaking ass in the legend,—but as matters of course. This, however, can only happen where the writer has no intention of relating what has actually occurred, but knows that he is dealing with a higher sphere. In Genesis itself, indeed, the creation of the world is related twice, and in such a way that, while the religious ideas remain the same, the outward circumstances are widely different, which, of course, is possible only in religious myths, not in histories miraculously revealed. Nor is it a question of the same narrator having a different intention, but of two narrators taking different views of outward events. Thus the whole animal world is in i. 24 created before man, but in ii. 19 ff. after man (יָצַר). In i. 9 herbs and trees are created long before man; in ii. 5 there is no green thing before man, the reason, in fact, being that man has not yet appeared (בְּרִי), and it is for man that the trees are planted. In like manner the earth is in i. 9 created out of the watery element; in ii. 5 ff. it requires first to be watered. According to i. 27, v. 2, man and woman are created together; according to ii. 21, woman is not created till after man. According to i. 29, trees and herbs are at once given to man

for food; according to iii. 18, the eating of herbs is a punishment, only the fruit of trees being man's original food. Besides, the whole arrangement of the days of work in A is rendered impossible by the phrase in the second narrative, "in the day that the Lord God made the heavens and the earth." On more minute discrepancies, like the view as to the classification of "creeping things," no stress need be laid (i. 24–30, cf. ii. 19 f., iii. 1, 14).

The short story in Gen. vi. 1–3 is worthy of special note. Hupfeld has already pointed out how unjust to the honour of Holy Scripture those are who take it as history, whether they give the wrong explanation that "the sons of God" are pious men or Sethites, or whether they really think of angels marrying. The whole of this much disputed story is, in reality, a parallel to Gen. iii. 22, giving a solution of the question as to how death came into the world. It gives as the explanation of this event, that at the instigation of beings superior to themselves, men gave up the natural position which God had intended for them. This whole story keeps more on the level of nature than Gen. iii. does. In other respects it might well be compared with the temptation by the serpent and the "being as God." The preface to this piece shows that it belongs, not to the passage in which it now occurs, but to the beginning of the history of man, and should, therefore, precede chaps. iv. and v.[1] In this piece, as in an instructive torso, we see how the mythical world of the Hebrew nation appeared when not fully controlled by the purer ideas of the religion of Israel,—though at least traces of the latter are shown in the condemnatory judgment passed on what is monstrous.

[1] According to Budde, the determining ver. 3 would have its original position just in chap. iii., and was pushed out of its proper place when the idea about the tree of life forced its way in. His conjecture is certainly clever and attractive, but it seems to me to rest on too insecure a basis (*Die biblische Urgeschichte* [Gen. i.–xii. 5], untersucht von Lic. Karl Budde, Giessen 1883, i. and ii.).

The result may be given in outline as follows:—Genesis is the book of sacred legend, with a mythical introduction. The first three chapters of it, in particular, present us with revelation-myths of the most important kind, and the following eight with mythical elements that have been recast more in the form of legend. From Abraham to Moses we have national legend pure and simple, mixed with a variety of mythical elements which have become almost unrecognisable. From Moses to David we have history still mixed with a great deal of the legendary, and even partly with mythical elements that are no longer distinguishable. From David onwards we have history, with no more legendary elements in it than are everywhere present in history as written by the ancients.

CHAPTER III.

THE RELIGION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

LITERATURE. — For the theological treatment, Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testamentes in der christlichen Kirche*, Jena 1869. Spencer, *De legibus Hebraeorum ritualibus et earum notionibus libri tres*, ed. 3, Leipzig 1705 (dissert. i. lib. iii., *De ritibus e gentium moribus in legem translatis*, 759–937). For the philosophical treatment, Hegel, *Religionsphilosophie*, ed. Marheineke, Bd. ii. 46–184 (Aufl. 2); *Philosophie der Geschichte*, Aufl. 2, p. 238 ff. Rosenkranz, *Die Naturreligion ein philosophisch-historischer Versuch*, 1831, and *Zeitschrift für die speculative Theologie* (ed. Bruno Bauer), 1837, Bd. ii. 1, p. 11 ff. [Against Hegel, Nitzsch (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1836, iv. 1096–1107). Against Hegel and Rust, Steudel (*Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1835, i. 112 ff., ii. 138 ff.).]—Vatke, *Religion des Alten Testamentes*,

1835, Bd. i. 99–120. Bruno Bauer, *Religion des Alten Testamentes in der geschichtlichen Entwicklung ihrer Principien dargestellt*, Bd. i. 1838; cf. *Zeitschrift für speculative Theologie*, Bd. i. 2, 247 ff. (1836), *Das Antitheologische am Hegelschen Begriff der hebräischen Religion*, and *l.c.* 1837, p. 329 f.—Rust, *Philosophie und Christenthum oder Wissen und Glauben* (I have seen only the first edition, 1825), p. 53 ff. F. Baur, *Christliche Gnosis*, 1835, p. 721 ff. (esp. p. 727 against Rust and Hegel).—Billroth, *Vorlesungen über Religionsphilosophie*, ed. Erdmann, Aufl. 2, 1844, § 105–110. Braniss, *Uebersicht des Entwicklungsganges der Philosophie in der alten und mittleren Zeit*, 1842, p. 24 ff. Stuhr, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Religionsformen der heidnischen Völker*, Bd. i.; *Die Religionssysteme der heidnischen Völker des Orients, Einleitung*, pp. xviii, xx. F. Köppen, *Philosophie des Christenthums*, 1813, Th. i. p. 57 ff. Lotze, *Microcosmos*, Bd. iii. 147. Schelling, *Sämmtliche Werke*, Abth. ii. Bd. i. 118 ff., Bd. iv. 119 ff. Immanuel Kant, *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, 1794, esp. pp. 47, 84, 109, 146 ff., 188, 224 ff. Feuerbach, *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, Aufl. 3, 1849, c. 12. Strauss, *Der alte und der neue Glaube*, Aufl. 3, 1872, p. 103 ff.

1. The Old Testament religion, as merely one stage of religion, and that not the highest, naturally falls to be compared with the other pre-Christian religions. Hence Old Testament theology must take account of the attempts that have been made to bring this religion into connection with the general religious development of mankind. For historical purposes, it must be admitted, every phenomenon is but a single link in the continuous chain of human affairs until it has shown itself to be something creative, something new, in other words, a starting-point for special developments. Now such a starting-point will certainly not lose its connection with the parent soil of human history. Still it receives its only adequate explanation when referred to the mystery of

those creative and determining divine forces by which the world, both of sense and of spirit, is upheld. For our task of describing the Old Testament religion, we cannot be properly equipped till we have got a firm grasp of it in its natural limits and connections.

As long as the sacred documents were looked at from the standpoint of uncritical reverence, theology was naturally unable to attempt a judicial estimate of the Old Testament religion. Least of all could it compare or connect the Old Testament with heathen religions. Spencer was the first to venture something of the kind, but as yet from a thoroughly orthodox standpoint, for it was only in a number of external matters that he asserted there was a connection between the religion of Israel and that of Egypt. If one wished to make a theological comparison, all that one was really allowed to do was to compare the two Testaments. Thus, against the Judæo-Christian amalgamation of both Testaments, as well as against the old Catholic assumption of their essential similarity, protests had been already raised by certain Gnostics, who, following a one-sided interpretation of supposed Pauline hints, ascribed to the Old Testament a God different from the God of Christianity, that is, a different religious principle. According to some, for example Basilides and Valentinus, this was a more secular, less truly spiritual principle; according to others, for instance Marcion, it was a principle excluding love, and rooted entirely in law, that is, in righteousness; in other cases, as among the Ophites, it was an absolutely immoral principle, a principle of persistent envy and selfishness, of antagonism to the better spirit in man. Comparisons of this kind could not but be made in later times also, as soon as a freer attitude towards the Biblical records was taken up. Two distinct tendencies then became apparent. Those who, like Semler and Schleiermacher, insist strongly on the perfect character of historical Christianity (cf. *Glaubenslehre*, § 12, 129), separate the Old Testament from the New with conscious or unconscious

disparagement of the former, and recognise only an external historical connection between the two. But others, who, like Kaiser in his first period of development, seek to reach something higher than the Biblical religion as it is, have a direct interest in placing both Testaments as nearly as possible on the same level.

As soon as a judicial estimate of the Old Testament religion was ventured on, the question had to be faced as to what constituted its distinctive peculiarity, the fundamental principle which it embodied in contrast with other religions. Now, the feature that first attracts attention is its monotheism, the exclusion of all gods save one from being acknowledged and worshipped by the people of Israel. It is unquestionably the fact that in later times the faith of Israel centred with the utmost constancy on this point—on the Echad of Deuteronomy, which became the watchword of the martyrs.[1] Accordingly the popular conception of the Old Testament has generally taken this to be its main characteristic.[2] But the monotheism of the Old Testament is essentially practical. It does not at first lay stress on there *being only one God*, but on the duty of Israel *to have only one God*. Indeed, the more recent estimate of Israel's religion sees, not without good reason, in the conscious monotheism which distinguishes Israel from the kindred peoples, a tolerably late development of Old Testament religion. Besides, a monotheism is imaginable, and in fact exists, which, as a nature-worship, is at least as far removed from the Old Testament idea of God, as for instance, the moral polytheism of the religion of Olympus.

[1] From the Schema of Deut. vi. 4, cf. Grätz, *Die Geschichte des Judenthums nach den Quellen*, 1856, Th. iv. 193 f. on the death of Rabbi Aquiba.

[2] This does not apply to de Wette's definition, "The practical idea of one God as a holy will, when cleared of myth and symbolised in the theocracy, is the foundation-principle of the Hebrew nation," or with the assertion of Baumgarten-Crusius, "that the Mosaic religion was practical, and limited to the single idea of the true God as the faithful patron of the Israelitish people." For in both the emphasis is laid on the relation of *this God* to His *people*.

Consequently monotheism as such is not a suitable term by which to define the religion of the Old Testament.

But even when the religion of Israel was in its prime, and though one were to speak only of its moral and spiritual monotheism, the unity of God was not the real foundation-principle of this religion. As theoretical knowledge in the technical sense, this would be a principle sufficient only for a reformation. Consequently it is, in fact, the foundation-principle of Islam which, without any creative force of its own, puts itself forward in a merely human and negative way as a purification of existing religions. But the Old Testament religion is, as a religion, of a thoroughly creative character. Hence that by which it is admittedly marked off from surrounding heathenism cannot be its fundamental idea. It became so only when Judaism, robbed of its creative spirit, degenerated into a sect.

Just as little is the emphasising of the doctrine of a personal God independent of the world to be regarded as the special characteristic of Israel's religion. For in this respect Israel scarcely felt that it had diverged from the religions of the other Semities.

2. Among the philosophical critics of religions we meet, first of all, with a number of men who, having a decided dislike to the Old Testament religion, have seen in it a low type of religion, and one even that is hostile to the higher development of man's spiritual life. At the first glance one is astonished to find Immanuel Kant pronouncing a judgment of this kind. For the emphasis laid upon the Moral Law as absolutely binding, and the practical nature of Old Testament religion, free from all metaphysics, seem to agree admirably with his own system. Nevertheless, he is of opinion that Judaism is really not a religion at all, but a body of purely statutory laws upon which a civil constitution was based. His idea is that, since no religion can be conceived of without belief in a future life, Judaism, as such, had no religious

faith; that, in fact, this fundamental religious conception was intentionally eliminated, because it was only something political that was aimed at, not something ethical. Indeed, he asserts (148) that polytheism would, if the gods were only thought of as requiring moral conduct, be even more suitable for a religion than the worship of a god who merely issues commands that do not call for an improvement in the moral disposition.

What first prejudiced Kant against the Old Testament was that its morality is thoroughly "heteronomous," and that it seems to favour Eudæmonism (147), and therefore to mar the purity of moral endeavour. But he overlooks the fact that this apparent Eudæmonism is connected solely with the transitional stage of history, to which, undoubtedly, a part of the Old Testament belongs, but which was already surmounted in the Old Testament itself, and that the most important parts of the Old Testament lay emphasis in the grandest way on the relation of the heart to God, and to what is morally good. He separates, in a manner that is quite unjustifiable, what he calls Judaism in its purity from the prophetic elements in the Old Testament. Judaism cannot but appear to him poor, after he has withdrawn from it its choicest treasures, as being "non-Jewish." It is only the Levitical corruption of Israel's religion that is, according to him, the real Old Testament religion. Besides, he is wrong as to the importance that attaches, in religion, to a belief in a personal existence after death, and he forgets that a religion cannot possibly present the postulates of morality save in the form of the revealed will of God. Finally, he cannot bring himself to understand that in the Old Testament, as is unquestionably the case, the moral and religious life of man is conceived of, in the first instance, as national life, and he judges of this fact as if the civil, as such, were, for the Old Testament, the ultimate aim. But in Israel the civil is of importance only in so far as it is religious.

English Deism, as well as the German antichristian movement, *e.g.* in Feuerbach, showed itself directly hostile to the Old Testament. The Old Testament is represented as the stage of egoism. But whoever calls a yearning after personal communion with God egoism, must give the same name to every development of healthy and vigorous religious life, as well as to all true love and friendship. On that supposition he would have to see in Christianity the religion of egoism. This is even to outdo the Ophites. For it is really only in the Old Testament that the latter would make out that God is the principle of egoism, the principle of stolid resistance to change, without inner justification, in contrast to the spirit of life and freedom. But on Feuerbach's view the self-same principle would be found in every religion which concedes personality to God. Besides, this estimate of the Old Testament is as superficial as it is unjust. The restriction of religion to national ends, and the bestowal of rewards upon virtue, are the necessary consequences of the historical conditions in which this religion arose. But, of itself, it carries one far beyond such thoughts. How can egoism be more utterly annihilated than when the law demands the absolute surrender of the ego to the idea of the people of God? How can opposition to egoism be more strikingly manifested than when the prophet foretells the self-sacrificing love of the servant of Jehovah? This modern Gnosis, with its estimate of the Old Testament, will make no impression on any one who has read that book with pious care, and given it a thorough and unprejudiced examination. And just as little will any one who really understands Old Testament piety, be impressed when Renan and Strauss, misled by the spirit of Indo-Germanic pride of race, find in the religion of Semitic Israel the religion of a migratory horde, and the expression of a national spirit undeveloped and poor in thought, when contrasted with the brilliant world of Indo-Germanic myth and philosophy. Were that the right view of the matter, Judaism,

Mohammedanism, and Christianity could never have laid hold of the civilised nations of the Aryan race, or permeated their spiritual life.

3. A really complete and harmonious estimate of Old Testament religion, in relation to the general religious history of mankind, was first formed by Hegel, and discussed in the circle of philosophers and theologians who acknowledged him as leader. To this estimate no one will presume to deny originality, brilliancy, and depth. But in the present condition of the science of comparative religion it is practically useless, being based on a far too meagre and one-sided acquaintance with human religions. A view which regards the Greek and Roman religions as the only higher forms of piety among "heathen" religions, and which has nothing special to say of the religion of the Hindoo, or the Persian, or the Buddhist, can no longer be considered satisfactory. It is solely because of its historical interest that it deserves a brief notice.

According to Hegel's own view,[1] the whole of heathenism proper, as "nature-religion," is at the *lowest* stage of religious development. The divine, not being yet distinguished from the natural, is conceived of as the fortuitous. Hence these religions are also the religions of magic. Christianity is the *highest* stage, the religion of spirit, where the absolute spirit is conceived of as indwelling in the finite as the One—that is to say, where the finite consciousness knows God only in so far as God knows Himself in it; hence the religion of *incarnation and reconciliation*. The necessary bridge between the religion of nature and the religion of spirit is formed by those three religions, in which the absolute is indeed distinguished from the natural, though the higher unity of both is not yet attained, viz. the religions of spiritual individuality —the Greek, the Roman, and the Old Testament religion.

[1] *Religionsphilosophie*, i. 263 ff., ii. 48, 49, 92, 95, 187, 188, 191, 222. *Philosophie der Geschichte*, 239, 240.

Of these, that of the Old Testament is, in itself, the least complete. For, while the Greek religion, as the religion of *beauty*, freedom, and humanity, strives after the higher unity, and the Roman State-religion, as the religion of *purpose*, deals with the thought of the absolute in the conception of the State, and seeks to give it human expression,—in the Old Testament religion, as the religion of *sublimity*, the separation between God and man is made in the sharpest possible way, without the higher unity of the two being really attained. But it is just for this very reason that this religion, as being the most consistent carrying out of the separation of the human and natural from the divine, is the only satisfactory starting-point from which to reach the highest stage. "It is the Jewish people which God has kept for Himself as the old pain of the world," since "the infinity of pain could only exist where God is known as one God, as a purely spiritual God."

It is certainly somewhat fairer to the Old Testament to acknowledge, as Vatke does (113, 114), that within the sphere of religion, the Greek conception of beauty affords only a superficial reconciliation, and that for our purpose the Roman State does not admit of any real comparison with the idea of "the kingdom of God." The same may be said of Bruno Bauer's position. He holds, with Hegel, that the Greek religion is superior to that of the Old Testament in the beauty and freedom of its morality; while the Roman is superior in its practical zeal for the general good, and its insistence on the rights of the individual. At the same time he maintains with the utmost emphasis that both these religions are quite inferior to that of the Old Testament. In the case of the Greeks this is due to their want of a real consciousness of sin, and to the consequent view of morality as a purely natural growth; and in the case of the Romans, to their subordination of the divine to a merely relative end, the power of the State. But neither of these scholars has

emancipated himself from the formulæ of Hegel and his arbitrariness in comparing only the Greek and Roman religions with that of the Old Testament. Indeed, both of them fail to see that the deepest characteristic of Old Testament piety lies, not in the opposition of God and man, but rather in their growing unity in the kingdom of God already beginning on earth.

And this last mistake occurs even where the Hegelian school avoids the first, where it represents the Old Testament alone as the intermediate stage between heathenism and Christianity. For both Rust (71, 72, 166) and Baur (166, 173, 722) regard Judaism, the stage of understanding, opinion, reflection, authority, and law, as standing contrasted, not only with heathenism, the stage of immediate feeling or intuition, but also with Christianity, the stage of reason. Thus a difference of *degree* between the Old Testament and the New, viz. that full spiritual communion between God and man is in the Old still a growing process, is changed into a difference of *kind*, as if the essence of the old covenant consisted in its not being the new covenant, whereas what had to be emphasised above all else was that the old, like the new, was a *covenant* between God and man.

4. Much more correct is the judgment which Schelling pronounces on the position of the Old Testament in the classification of religions. According to him, heathenism, the sphere of the general working of the Son of God, is to be distinguished from revelation proper, the sphere of His personal working, as *historia profana* from *historia sacra*. But within sacred history itself the Old Testament is distinguished from the New by the fact that in the Old the worship of the true God is still influenced and determined by antagonism to the false god of heathenism.

According to Schelling's conception of the development of religions, people originally worshipped Elohim, that is, the Godhead, there being as yet no distinction between the

true God and the false. In other words, the idea of monotheism as distinguished from polytheism had not yet arisen. On the intrusion of the second false god (the female), polytheism arose, but at the same time also monotheism as its opposite. For those who did not accept the new God, their "Godhead" now became the one true God (Jehovah) in contrast to the various false gods. In this way the true God reveals Himself to Abraham. But His revelation works through mythology, that is, can only be understood from the fact that in heathenism the consciousness of the true God is strained and obscured. The Old Testament exists just to contrast the true God with the false. It presupposes the existence of God (Elohim), who, however, has also become the starting-point of polytheism. Hence the monotheism of Abraham is not yet a non-mythological monotheism. A great many of the puzzling institutions in the Old Testament are only to be explained by the fact that revelation still clings to this heathen principle as its own presupposition, even when what is heathen in it has become mere material on which to work. Hence Christianity had to do away with the Old Testament as such in the same way as with heathenism. It frees revelation from whatever elements still cling to it through its having issued forth out of heathenism.[1] If we overlook the peculiarity of Schelling's general system of constructing the history of religion, we must heartily approve of his estimate of the Old Testament. Its religion is, like Christianity, the revealed religion of the moral and spiritual God, but still fettered and hampered by the nature of those national religions out of which it sprang and in opposition to which it grew up.

5. The opinions expressed by most modern philosophical writers on religion are based on a similar view. According to Billroth, the Old Testament is the preliminary stage of Christianity. It is not yet the highest and final revelation, because

[1] I. 145, 148, 160, 170, iv. 123, 124, 132 ff.

the immanence of God is not yet recognised, because the severance of the finite from the infinite is not yet abolished from within, because the goodness, grace, and mercy of God are still revealed through the medium of outward history, bound up with the history of a particular nation. Nevertheless it is *revelation*. The immediate oneness of God and the world is abolished, and in the nation man has an actual and real union with God. Stuhr takes a similar view of the Old Testament, and so in all essential points does Köppen, notwithstanding his otherwise very one-sided estimate of it. And Braniss teaches (24) that "until the reconciliation of the natural and the divine is reached, all peoples must fall into two great categories, the one of which declares nature to be the ruling power, and the other God. In the former case, it is true, the divine is also acknowledged but as a something determined by nature; in the latter, the natural is present, but only as a something determined by God. The concrete historical expression of these two categories is heathenism and Judaism. Their original contrast is the key that explains the whole life of the pre-Christian world." And if this emphasises too strongly the contrast between the Old Testament and heathenism, we must at any rate fully assent to the beautiful saying of Lotze: "Among the theocratic nations of the East the Hebrews appear to us like sober men among drunkards. To the ancient world they doubtless seemed like dreamers among waking men" (iii. 147).

6. If we examine the religion of the Old Testament from a purely historical point of view as one of the religions of mankind, and for the time overlook its relation to Christianity, then at the first glance it takes its place in its perfect form among the prophetic or the ethico-historical religions in the stricter sense of the word, and is thus distinguished from the physical or the national religions. But at the same time this final form of it is seen to be the result of a still explic-

able historical development which has a connection with physical and national religions.

In the earliest period of the history of nations, religion meets us as elemental Nature-worship. Man in his weakness and need feels himself subject to the mighty forces of nature as if these were personal powers confronting him. With these powers he strives to enter into personal relations so as to make them serviceable to him, or at least favourably disposed. Like every active force, they present themselves to him as somehow akin to his own spiritual life. But primarily it is not the moral life of his spirit which he recognises in these absolute powers, but mere power, mere will. At this stage the question as to one God or many gods is still essentially a matter of indifference. It is in the last analysis the same power which man encounters everywhere, although it meets him in a thousand different and even conflicting forms and manifestations. Contrasted with the systematic development of polytheism in the religions of civilisation, this original heathenism may appear akin to monotheism because the individuality of the separate phenomena of nature is in itself a matter of religious indifference, and only their power and influence are of interest, because they can for that reason be combined, interchanged, or converted into one another. But in reality there is here not the slightest trace of the idea which actual monotheism postulates, viz. that God is one. For we must not allow ourselves to be misled by the fact that prayers and hymns often purposely extol the God who is praised in them, as the only God and Lord. These religions are invariably *national religions*, moulded by the national peculiarities, by the character of the country and the climate, by the occupations, the fears, and the aspirations that make up the national life. They are all, to a certain extent, the spontaneous expression of the popular heart. The mode of worship employed in them is interwoven with the everyday life of the people. They know nothing

of a theoretical interest in the gods; and the relations between religion and the morality that grows up out of the mutual relationships of men are still altogether obscure and unstable.

The lowest of these religions with which we have to deal is Animism. In it the separate phenomena of nature are regarded as living, acting forces, though without any higher unity or moral character. Men do not enter into relations with this world of spirits from love or admiration, but from fear and selfishness. The strongest motive for worshipping them is anxiety to secure their services by means of magic. They are not classified, for the purposes of religion, into good and bad; rather are they all of them incalculable, unearthly, spectral. Closely akin to these are the ghostly shades of the departed, primarily objects of terror, but yet furnishing the basis of a higher stage, viz. ancestor-worship. As the lowest form of this stage of religion, though probably a degenerate one, we have fetish-worship, where the nature-power is conceived of as connected with some arbitrarily chosen symbol. Such pure animism was the prevailing religion of the Turanian races of Asia. But among the peoples of Africa, Polynesia, and America, almost without an exception, religion rested on a similar basis. In Finland it became a civilised religion with mythical and ethical elements in it; in the moral State-religion of China, it constitutes the popular background. If Lenormant's theories are well founded, fetish-worship made no inconsiderable contribution to the civilised religion of Babylon as well as to the religion of India and of Egypt. Since the ritual of this religion consists of magic, it has a natural tendency to create priestly families and castes, that become the repositories of the songs and the various other means which magicians habitually employ.

Among the Semitic pastoral tribes elemental nature-worship seems to have been cast in a higher mould. Even among them, indeed, there was no monotheism in the strict

sense of the term. We find that plurality of gods and goddesses is everywhere taken for granted. But it is not the personality or individuality of these that excites interest. The real devotion of the people, as is proved by the names for God, is called forth by the kind of power and authority ascribed to the gods as such. It is from such attributes that the Deity is named, not from the parts of nature in which His activity is presupposed. The root-feeling is fear of God, and that probably not in the highest sense of the word, since the Deity is not primarily ethical, but only holy and terrible. Still it is the fundamental feeling that affords the religious spirit a starting-point from which to take its highest flights. It is the natural basis of prophetic inspiration. The Deity is felt to be the sovereign Lord of the particular tribe and people, and is thus brought into relation with the national life. He is, of course, also brought into relation with the ancestors of the nation and "the shades" of the departed, but in a way that tends to the moral interests of the national life. Here, then, were the roots of monotheistic religion and of theocracy. And since the attribute of absolute power constitutes what is essential in the idea of God, we here come very near taking the step that places God the Creator altogether outside of nature. This, then, is the native soil of the higher forms of prophetic religion, but at the same time also of those wild orgies, of that religious fanaticism, of that terrible fear of God, which finds expression in hecatombs of human sacrifices. To this form of religion, originally peculiar to the pastoral tribes of Arabian origin, are due in the main the composite religions of Assyria and Babylon, as well as of Canaan, and it is the parent soil of the prophetic religions of the Hebrews and the Arabs.

It is beyond doubt that the highest and most attractive form of elemental nature-worship is that which lies at the foundation of the civilised religions of the Aryan races. The character of it can be inferred from these religions, as well

as from the Vedic hymns and the nature-myths common to the Aryan nations. No doubt, here also, the gods are primarily elemental spirits, akin to and intermingling with the souls of men. They are not primarily possessed of moral attributes, just as nature itself is indifferent to the distinction between good and bad. But the heaven of light is conceived of as the common source of the powers of nature, and this involuntarily carries with it the idea of the true and the good. And the religious feeling entertained towards such a god is not fear, but ecstatic love. It is a joyous, heroic religion. Through the genius of language, the unfolding life of nature becomes a rich spring of poetic myths full of meaning. And, since the phenomena of nature, even when they are grasped as a unity, are nevertheless only something relative, mere transient expressions, as it were, of an unknown higher power, the religious view of the world becomes, to a certain extent, a philosophical one. Behind the gods we have the order and power of nature itself. There is here a spring of the richest poetry, of heroic gladness and of culture; and here also the strongest impulse to ethics and philosophy. But assuredly not a foundation for genuine prophecy and for true revelation. For where the divine is itself essentially relative, and man feels himself equal to the gods, his highest elevation is not that of the prophet, but of the philosopher and the poet, and religion loses itself in metaphysics and ethics. Should a prophetic genius spring up on such a religious soil, he will reach out beyond the relative gods to the one absolute Being whom he feels within himself in greater purity than in the life of nature. He will become a Pantheist, or like Buddha, an Atheist.

Each of these primitive religions developed into civilised religions, sometimes in a pure form and sometimes in combination with others. Sometimes a pantheistic polytheism grew up under the influence of a philosophical priesthood, as among the Babylonians and the Phœnicians, the Hindoos and the

Egyptians. Sometimes an ethical polytheism was developed by the poets on the basis of a free and joyous national growth, as among the Greeks or in the Edda. Sometimes, under the influence of civil morality, a political religion was formed in which the old powers of nature gave place to the powers of civil and social life, as in the religion of the Roman Empire and among the Chinese. But in none of these cases was there a real advance beyond the stage of the physical or national religions. We nowhere find that a special genius for religion was the origin of any of these religions, however often we have to admire their philosophical depth or poetical vigour, or the moral earnestness of their political and social sentiment. The gods remain within the limits of the empirical. That deity means that which is absolutely exalted above nature, viz. spirit, and that its contents must, at the same time, be the purest expression of that which, as the basis of ethics, seeks to obtain human form,—that the communion of man with God must be inward, and its expression the whole social life of mankind,—that religion has to do, not with the separate life of individual nations and their work as States, but with the life of man as man,—all this is nowhere fully acknowledged in any one of these religions. Whether as regards origin or final aim, none of the religions of this class admits of any comparison with the Biblical.

Besides Christianity, there are only three religions at all worthy of being compared with the religion of the Old Testament, because they have been produced on the basis of nature-religions by the creative strength of religious genius. These are on the one side the Persian and the Buddhist, on the other the Mohammedan.

In many respects the Old Testament reminds one of the religion of the Persians as it was before it gradually lost its purity and strength by adopting elements out of the religion of the Chaldeans, and above all, out of the Anahîta-worship under

Artaxerxes Mnemon.[1] Both religions are connected with a comparatively simple and undeveloped form of nature-worship that had not yet grown into a really systematic polytheism, this nature-worship being in the one case Semitic and in the other Aryan. Then, through the religious genius of their prophets they detach themselves on the one hand from their natural soil in their struggle after a spiritual conception of God, and on the other hand they carry on a long fight for existence with the higher forms of that nature-worship out of which they sprang. In both the swaddling-clothes of nature-worship are still visible in the commingling of the physically holy with the morally holy, in the high value attached to definite forms of outward life, and in the close relation of the religions to the distinctive life of the nation. Both religions still retain in legend and myth various elements of nature-worship though blurred or transformed, while it is chiefly through antagonism to this their parent-soil that the course of their development is determined. Hence, it is easily understood how these two religions were quite in sympathy with each other when they first came into contact (Deutero-Isaiah xliv., xlv.).

The difference between them comes out mainly in two points. Of these, the first is that in the period after Darius the Persians were not favoured with any men of prophetic spirit capable of developing their religion, and that the ceremonial precipitate of that religion had to take the place of a living spiritual development. The strength of the nation was exhausted in military and political achievements. They did not hold aloof from the nations attached to nature-worship, but as the ruling race, gathered

[1] Herod. i. 131, cf. Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vii. 5. 53 ; Oec. iv. 24, cf. the inscriptions of Behistun and the epitaph of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam. On this whole question, still obscure on many points, cf. James Darmesteter in Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iv., Introduction. From the Babylonian documents it seems that Cyrus himself was a devotee of the Semitic worship of nature (A. H. Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*).

these around themselves. Accordingly, when the force of the first purely religious revival was spent, the Persian nation was not strong enough to withstand the overwhelming pressure of the religion of civilised Asia.[1] Israel, on the contrary, though only after a severe struggle, was preserved from the same fate by its prophets, till its religion had become sufficiently mature not to fear any longer the influence of such elements.

The second main distinction lies in the difference of the soil on which the two religions grew. When one bears in mind how closely the Indo-Germanic gods were allied with nature, it was certainly a great religious achievement to elevate the God of Light in the old religion into the one true God,—the fountain of all good, the one proper object of religious love and reverence. Nevertheless, he was still surrounded by a retinue of kindred spirits, to whom divine honours were paid, and thus the bridge to polytheism was built. The Elohim of the Old Testament, on the contrary, were not regarded as objects of national worship. One part of nature, moreover, was regarded by the Persians as beyond the jurisdiction of this god, viz. the domain of what was thought essentially evil and bad. No doubt Añgro-Mainyus, the spirit of destruction and negation, is not God in the religious sense; that position is reserved for Ahura-mazdao alone. But he represents a side of existence that does not fit in with the conception of God. He is the sign of the unassimilated Aryan nature-religion, of the merely relative conception of God. But through the conception of God already described, their Semitic nature-religion in its original simplicity enabled

[1] The restoration of religion for political purposes by the Sassanidæ, and the growth of our present collection of the Avesta, remind us of the collecting of the sacred books, and of the Levitical restoration of religion by the scribes of the second temple. The fate of the Persian religion, from Artaxerxes onwards, shows what lines the religion of Israel might have followed, had the influence which Solomon was the first to give them as a world-power of the first rank continued to grow.

the Hebrew prophets in a religious way, by means of the fear of God, to raise God absolutely above the world without leaving any such residuum. Besides, in the emphasising of the national God lay the possibility of reaching pure monotheism in a really practical way. Hence the soil for the true kingdom of God was not in Persia, but in Israel.

With Buddhism, the second Indo-Germanic religion of prophecy, the Old Testament religion has no sort of affinity, any more than with the developments which philosophy underwent on the soil of Greek religion. Buddhism is the prophetic reformation of the already highly-developed Pantheism of the priestly religion of India, and in its relation to the latter has many analogies with Christianity in its opposition to Pharisaism and to priestly aristocracy. It is the most logical development of nature-religion become Pantheistic. For if the gods are powers actively at work only within the sphere of the world's development, then higher than all of them is the spirit of man, inasmuch as it raises itself above nature in recognising its own supra-mundane character. To the human spirit that has emancipated itself, the host of gods does homage. *Idealistic atheism, not naturalism, is the last word of nature-religion.* And if the world of phenomena has not a divine origin, then the only proper verdict of the spirit regarding it is the verdict of pessimism. For, considered as a mere "world," it is not good, and to belong to it is not a blessing. Where the question is between the optimism of "the new faith" and the pessimism of Schopenhauer, the answer of the deeper spirits cannot but be in favour of the latter. Only the man who believes in the providence of a God, who is spirit and who is love, has the right to look at the world with the eye of an optimist without being guilty of superficiality.

Thus for comparison with Christianity and the Old Testament religion there now remains only the third Semitic religion of prophecy, viz. Mohammedanism. But this does not really admit of comparison, since the whole kernel of this religious

system was taken from that of the Old Testament. No doubt, in opposition to a Semitic nature-religion that had remained at a comparatively rudimentary stage, Mohammed preached, like the founders of the religion of Israel, with true religious ardour, faith in one Almighty Ruler of the world; and his religion was strongly influenced by the conditions of life then existing among the Arabian people. But he knew the Old Testament religion, although in an impure and corrupted form, and, in fact, he had also seen one-sided forms of Christianity. What Mohammed himself added or omitted shows his ability as a national leader, and his healthy aversion to the petty Pharisaic view of life; but, at the same time, it indicates a great lack of moral earnestness, and of a high ideal as to the chief end of human existence. However powerful Mohammedanism has been as a factor in the history of the world, in the history of religion it can be regarded merely as a degenerate form of the Old Testament religion, as a heresy, the vitality of which was due simply to its having to contend against the spiritual caricature of Talmudic scholasticism, and against the idolatry and heathenism of the Oriental Church.

CHAPTER IV.

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

1. Christ and His apostles do not regard the Old Testament religion as a mere outward historical preparation for Christianity, but as a form of piety which could and would continue to be the foundation even of Christian piety.[1]

[1] One must not be led astray as to this by the polemic of the Apostle Paul. Even he does not wish to renounce the Old Testament as such. He merely denies to the law, which he recognises even in heathenism as a pre-Christian form of religion, the power to save and to generate true life. How far he is from treating the law and the Old Testament as synonymous is, in fact, most

This is of itself enough to show a Christian that the Old Testament religion can be understood only in connection with, and as an essential part of, Christianity. An Old Testament saint did not require to change his religion in order to become a Christian. All that was needed was the decisive act of faith which the Old Testament itself, by its prophecy, as well as by the innermost kernel of its essence, made possible, and even easy. Nothing more was necessary than the moral earnestness of the true penitent, just what ought to have been the natural result of the moral preaching characteristic of the Old Testament religion. In order to become a Christian, every heathen must be, in the strict sense of the word, *converted*—that is, his attitude towards religion, and his whole way of looking at it, must undergo a radical change. A Jew could become a pious Christian, and still continue a pious Jew. Hence such men as James the Just, and, indeed, the twelve apostles themselves, are quite as much model representatives of Old Testament piety as of Christianity in the fullest sense of the word. No Christian, however, could by any possibility continue a pious worshipper at a Greek or Roman temple.

But this closeness of connection is also clearly established by a thorough comparison of the two Testaments. There is positively not one New Testament idea that cannot be conclusively shown to be a healthy and natural product of some Old Testament germ, nor any truly Old Testament idea which did not instinctively press towards its New Testament fulfilment. Of course, it is only New Testament theology that can adduce satisfactory proof of this.

clearly shown by the proofs which he himself takes from the Old Testament, that the law is not the highest and permanent form of the true religion, but must pass over into faith (Gen. xv. 6; Hab. ii. 4). While, from the standpoint of history, one may say that Levitism came in between the religion of the prophets and Christianity, Paul, from his point of view regarding the date of the Pentateuch, maintains that the law came in between the religion of Abraham and Christianity (Rom. v. 20).

Hence, in the spirit of the Old Testament religion, the Christian will recognise the same spirit which he receives as the perfect spirit of the God who reveals Himself in Jesus Christ, the spirit presented to us in His personal life as man. The Old Testament will be to him a religion of revelation, and that, too, a revelation of the Divine Spirit which, purifying, enlightening, redeeming, reconciling, leads up to the divinely-human life as that found permanent expression in Jesus.

The Old Testament religion, like the Christian, did not come forth out of humanity, according to the mere law of natural spiritual development, but as a result of the working, upon Israel's spiritual life, of that divine, self-communicating spirit which aims at establishing the kingdom of God among men. This religion rightly regards itself as called into existence by God, as called into existence by the clear separation of this one people from the life of the other peoples of the world. Hence the whole story of Genesis consists of a series of separations. Hence the law cuts Israel off from the nature-worship that was developing all around. Hence even a Moses and an Isaiah draw a clear distinction between their own thoughts and the voice of God involuntarily revealed to their inner ear. Hence the people are not to believe even signs and wonders if displayed, not in the interests of divine truth already attested, but in the service of mere human wisdom. Indeed, the natural life of Israel, where it follows its own promptings, comes constantly into conflict with the religion of the Old Testament. And this peculiar value of the Old Testament is everywhere unreservedly recognised in the New.

The starting-point of Old Testament religion is neither the natural nor the human as the object of experience. It does not reach the divine by idealising the empirical, either on the æsthetic principle, or the teleological, or on any other. The divine life, as absolutely transcending the whole region of

experience, as free, independent, spiritual, is, in this religion, grasped with the certainty of direct inward experience that cannot be shaken. In it, religious truth shines out from the very first, not as a fact of philosophy or of science, but as the absolutely certain, that which demonstrates itself even to the inner life.

Hence in Israel the knowledge of God was attained exclusively in a religious way under the influence of the divine, and is therefore purely practical. In no sense was it reached along the line of philosophy or of poetry. But an original religious conviction of this kind is never to be understood as a result merely of previously existing conceptions or circumstances. As an experience of forces which lie outside the world of sense, it has its roots in the communication of the spirit, through the love and mercy of God, to such members of the human family as are privileged to become interpreters to their brethren of the heavenly life, that is to say, in a divine revelation. Israel's religious teachers are prophets, not philosophers, priests, or poets. Hence the Old Testament religion can be explained only by revelation, that is, by the fact that God raised up for this people men whose natural susceptibility to moral and religious truth, developed by the course of their inner and outer lives, enabled them to understand intuitively the will of the self-communicating, redeeming God regarding men, that is, to possess the religious truth which maketh free, not as a result of human wisdom and intellectual labour, but as a power pressing in upon the soul with irresistible might. Only those who frankly acknowledge this can be historically just to the Old Testament.

But on the other hand, this religion, too, like everything that the world produces, stands in close relation to the laws of development. It is not to be explained, it is true, by historical relations alone, but it presupposes historical conditions, and is itself conformable to historical laws. The

Old Testament itself represents such historical conditions as given to Abraham in the religion of the Semites, and to Moses in the worship of the God of his fathers. And although, from the character of the sources, it is only an imperfect picture of these conditions that we can now obtain, that does not make the fact of their existence a whit less certain.

The religion of Israel itself shows its historical development quite plainly. It did not reject the spiritual inheritance of the Hebrew people; it appropriated it, but not without leaving traces discernible to the trained eye, of what that inheritance would have been without it.[1] In the course of its development, it adopted as raw material, popular customs, festivals, legends, and even mythical presentations; and, in fact, it may in this way have incorporated even what was non-Israelitish. It did not, as with the touch of a magician's wand, change into a perfect morality the moral views then characteristic of Eastern, and specially of Bedouin life, but it influenced and purified them from within. This it could not do without having to put up for a long time, "because of the people's hardness of heart," with many things which did not agree with its real character and principles, as, for example, the avenging of blood, slavery, polygamy, and the imperfect morality which consequently characterised married life. It gave further organic development to national figures; for example, it did not directly transform the soothsayer into a purely spiritual prophet of God, but it gradually set prophecy free from its natural environment of dream-interpretation and soothsaying, and led it onwards to its highest height. But while it thus advanced step by step according to historical laws, it was only in Christ that it rose to a perfect consciousness of its true essence.

2. In Biblical religion there is but one fundamental principle.

[1] *E.g.* Gen. vi. 1–3, xxxii. 25 ff.

It is in every respect the same in the Old Testament as in the New. Nor can any unprejudiced observer have difficulty in finding it out, however certain it is that it took the people of Israel centuries to make up their minds about it. All the stories of this religion have reference to the fact that the perfect spiritual God wishes in love to realise His holy will in communion with man. These narratives, therefore, refer to a loving communion of the people with a God who is self-communicative, and whose object it is, through, and in spite of human sin, in other words, by redemption and reconciliation, to produce a divine life, to set up a kingdom of God. Hence the history of this religion is the history of the kingdom of God, of redemption and reconciliation. Even sacred legend has no other centre. In this religion, wisdom is knowledge of the way of life, in which the divine life is found, in other words, knowledge of the laws of the kingdom of God. The institutions, statutes, and laws of this religion are intended to give expression to the divine life which in spite of sin has been restored to man. The poetry of the Old Testament is joy over a life of communion with God the Redeemer, or sorrow for its loss, or a longing after it. Prophecy is the outlook for a perfect kingdom of God. Even doubts and struggles revolve around this centre. In short, the fundamental thought of Biblical religion is the kingdom of God, the realisation of the perfect divine life as a redeeming and reconciling factor in human life. And, in truth, this is no empty fantastic enthusiasm for an imaginary ideal of salvation, but the joyful certainty of a historical salvation actually present and accessible to experience, in the definite and actual features of which the full contents of the ideal are at once directly and indirectly included.

3. It still remains for us to answer the question, What relation on this theory of their inner unity do the two Testaments bear to each other? It would be a simple matter

to put their two religions, according to the view of the early Church, on absolutely the same level, or, at least, to see in Christianity nothing more than an essentially natural completion of the Old Testament religion. But such procedure would be contrary to fact. Since the essence of this religion is not a theoretical knowledge of God and of divine things, but a salvation that moulds human life, and finds expression in it, then, as soon as this salvation is realised in a human personality, as soon as the kingdom of God is established in its true form, an entirely new stage of religious development must begin. In comparison with this stage of full and complete salvation, the previous stage must seem like a type or a passing shadow. Whoever really sees in Jesus the complete revelation of the Divine Spirit in human life, and in His followers the citizens of the kingdom of God, for him Jesus is also He who alone has seen God, and Christianity something absolutely new. Only where special importance was attached to a theoretical knowledge of supernatural things was it possible to imagine that the "secret" of Christianity, viz. that incarnation of the living God which is characteristic of the Christian stage of religion, would be found already revealed in the Old Testament.[1] In a really historical development, knowledge and life never stand unrelated. The absolutely unique character of the religious position of Jesus is not sufficiently recognised by those who regard Christianity as having simply developed out of the Old Testament in much the same sense as the prophetic view of religion grew up within the Old Testament itself out of the old Mosaic view.

[1] That is the defect of thoroughgoing supernaturalism, which sees the doctrines of revelation everywhere, and of Socinianism as well, regarding which, in this relation, cf. Diestel, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, vol. vii. 4, p. 709 ff. In modern times Hengstenberg is its most prominent advocate. As against him, the arguments of v. Hofmann are generally marked by a sound regard for the essence of religion. The followers of Cocceius were prevented by their arbitrary exegesis and their unscientific typology from reaping the full advantage of the true views of history which are implied in the federal theology.

The Old Testament religion is the religion of the kingdom of God in the process of growth, this kingdom being still confined within the bounds of a political community, that is, restricted to a single nation. In this religion the divine life is primarily expressed in form and type, in other words, in an external and therefore transitory fashion, and the divine will is still primarily presented to the human heart as a mere ideal, in other words, essentially as duty, as law. In this religion the true realisation among men of the divine will is only hoped for, and is therefore represented as essentially an object of prophecy, and the separation between the divine and the human, present in heathenism, but not felt, is consciously experienced, but still continues as something to be done away with. It is the religion of the holy people, of holy forms, of law, of prophecy, and of the fear of God. Christianity is the religion of the perfected kingdom of God in which the divine life has been personally and spiritually, and therefore as regards all human development, permanently expressed in human life. Consequently it has become the moving spirit of a human development, and therefore works in the individual as an inward impulse, as a new vital force. Its perfect growth is no longer something merely hoped for, but is apprehended as belonging as much to the present as to the future, and is therefore an object of faith, and heathenism and the Old Testament, with their separation of the divine and the human, are simultaneously done away with. It is the religion of incarnation, therefore of everlasting reconciliation and of humanity—the religion of the spirit and of love, and therefore of true redemption—of faith and sonship. The kingdom of God, which was first embodied in the Old Testament under the imperfect outward form of a State life, and was next, through deeper insight into its essence, transformed into an ideal hope, is in Christianity realised in the person of Jesus and the influences that radiate from Him, although as a spiritual force in the world of

phenomena it is still continually engaged in seeking after its pure expression, and thus reaches out towards the eternal world.

Hence the old saying, "The Old Testament is patent in the New, the New is latent in the Old,"[1] is false if taken to mean that the New Testament religion is already present in the Old Testament as esoteric teaching. But it is correct if it be understood as meaning that the germinal principles of the Christian salvation are present in the Old Testament in various forms as yet incomplete and undefined, and that only in the New Testament does the Old Testament salvation attain its eternal and truly saving significance. In both religions there is an inner unity of life, an unfolding of the same power. No New Testament form of salvation is intelligible without the Old Testament form. But no Old Testament form of salvation, as such, is already Christian, but every one of them becomes so when in the light of the new spirit it has a new illumination thrown upon it. It is therefore perfectly clear that no one can expound New Testament theology without a thorough knowledge of Old Testament theology. But it is no less true that one who does not thoroughly understand New Testament theology cannot have anything but a one-sided view of Old Testament theology. He who does not know the destination will fail to understand many a bend in the road. For him who has not seen the fruit, much, both in bud and blossom, will always remain a riddle.

4. The line of demarcation between Old Testament and New Testament theology is easily drawn. The sphere of the former is wherever there is manifested in the pre-Christian religion a creative spirit conscious of itself and showing a spirit of uniform advance. Its task is done as soon as this

[1] Cf. Augustine, *De catechiz. rudibus* iv. 8 *in vetere testamento est occultatio novi, in novo testamento est manifestatio veteris.* Cf. *Contr. Faust.* xv. 2. Enarr. in Ps. lxxxiv. 4.

spirit ceases, as soon as foreign influences begin to predominate, or the scribes' method of treating the Old Testament religion as already complete gets the upper hand. Whatever from this point onwards is either new or peculiar belongs to the Introduction to New Testament theology, which has to describe the religious conditions in the midst of which Christianity appeared. Hence we may briefly describe as the boundary line of Old Testament theology the founding of the hierarchical State after the Maccabean struggles. Up to that time the spirit of the old religion was always giving signs of life, at least in individuals. Unity was, it is true, gradually crumbling away, but outwardly, at any rate, it was still preserved. But under the Asmonæan dynasty, Pharisee, Sadducee, and Essene stand side by side, exposed to Palestinian, Grecian, and Oriental influences. The scribes, now at the zenith of their power, are supreme. The Old Testament religion has become a sacred literature absolutely complete and inviolable. Any further development is merely a stage of Judaism based on the completed Old Testament religion. It is of use only in a very few points where some suggestive additions have been made; but even these are to be regarded solely as appendices, and not as strictly belonging to our present task.

CHAPTER V.

PERIODS AND SOURCES OF OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

1. As periods in the pre-Christian development of the religion of Israel, the following would naturally commend themselves :—

I. From Adam to Moses, Patriarchal period.

II. From Moses to Samuel-David, time of the first unaltered form of the Theocratic State, Mosaic period.

III. From Samuel-David to the decline of the divided kingdoms, that is to say, till about B.C. 800, Time of the religion of the monarchy, Theocratic period.

IV. From B.C. 800 to the rebuilding of Jerusalem by Ezra and Nehemiah, Prophetic period.

V. From Ezra to the Asmonæan princes, Hierarchical period of Priestly Legislation.

These periods, however, cannot hold their ground against a real attempt at historical presentation. To begin with, the first of them proves utterly useless for our purpose. Not that we doubt that the people of Israel had a real national life even before Moses, perhaps one not without recollections of national glory, or that when Moses appeared, the better among the people already had a religion which could serve as the basis of the Mosaic, and the main features of which were retained in Mosaism. Indeed we may confidently assume that this was the case. Otherwise Moses could never have gathered a whole down-trodden people around the standard of his newly-revealed religion, or have succeeded, in spite of the Egyptians, in evoking such popular enthusiasm for it. How different it was with Mohammed, who had to fight a life-long battle with his own people and his own tribe before the Arabian nation was roused to enthusiasm for Mohammedanism. And yet his work also was rendered possible only by the fact that among wide circles of his own kindred similar aspirations after a purer religion had made their influence felt. In fact, within his own nation, besides himself and partly also in opposition to him, there arose quite a number of prophet-preachers.[1] Pastoral peoples, with their strong attachment to what is inherited, never adopt a religion unanimously without demur, unless it is in all essential points in strict accordance with

[1] Let the reader think of Warâka, Umaya from Tâîf, Abu Amîr from Medina, and the Prophets Tulaiha, Musailima, Al-Aswud.

ancestral tradition, or at least in sympathy with long acknowledged aspirations.

But for giving any information about the religious character of that age beyond the merest generalities, our original sources are absolutely insufficient. It is only through popular legend that we can get an idea of the pre-Mosaic age; and this, of course, so far as its religious contents are concerned, bears the stamp of the times in which it grew up. Stories, which were committed to writing at the earliest about the time of Samuel, can give us no real information about the religious circumstances of the times of Abraham and Jacob. They can only show us what ideas of these times were prevalent among the people of Moses' day. It cannot therefore be right to speak of a period of pre-Mosaic religion. We can only say in what light Israel was wont to look at the religious circumstances of its earliest age. No original authorities for the period before Moses have come down to us. We can do nothing more than draw inferences from the national legends we have, and from any fragments of myth and of ancient customs that remain.

2. Nor can it be said that there is a literature of Israel dating from the age of Moses and Joshua. The oldest pieces of literature in our possession are, no doubt, songs and popular stories which have been carefully woven into our present large histories. Whether many of these were already consecutive writings cannot be determined with certainty. Only the mention of the "book of the Wars of Jehovah" (Num. xxi. 14) and of the "book of the Upright" (Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18), proves that there had once existed old collections of songs in which were celebrated the memorable epochs and the principal heroes of the nation's religious wars. But the last-named book could not have been compiled till after the time of David. On the other hand, the song of Deborah and the main document in Judg. vi.–xvi. point to the existence of trustworthy tradition among the people

from the time of the Judges onwards. Ex. xv. and Gen. xlix. also date from the beginning of the kingly period. The original sources of the Pentateuch as they have come down to us, especially B, suggest a tolerably long period of previous literary activity. But of really consecutive writings, we undoubtedly possess nothing that can be older than the time of David.

None of the more detailed works of history are earlier than the time of the Kings. And though they were certainly intended to reproduce the character of the olden time as faithfully as the ancient method of writing history admits of our supposing, they do not enable us to distinguish clearly in matters of details between the circumstances of that olden time and those of the historian's own day. Accordingly, if we take only what goes back with absolute certainty to the time of Moses, nothing remains but a very small fragment. On the other hand, were we without more ado to treat everything that might possibly belong to the Mosaic period as really belonging to it, our picture would lose all historical value. Hence our only task at this point is to determine what results of historical development down to the eighth century can be clearly established, without attempting a complete presentation of Old Testament religion for the "period before Samuel." It would be vain to attempt a continuous sketch of the development of religion between the time of Moses and the building of the temple. Speaking generally, therefore, we describe as the first period the whole time down to the decline of the divided kingdoms, that is, to about 800 B.C. This we call the Mosaic period or Mosaism, because we are convinced that its moral and religious foundations rest on the work accomplished by Moses in founding the nation. But in this we purposely include whatever was built upon these foundations during the time of the Judges, and specially since the time of David.

As authorities for the time of David, the "Davidic"

Psalms would naturally take the first rank. But the more closely they are examined, the stronger becomes the feeling that by far the largest number of the sacred songs which tradition has assigned to the great king date from a very much later age, and that perhaps only Ps. xviii. can be ascribed to him with anything like absolute certainty. Next to it come such songs as 2 Sam. i. 19–27, iii. 33, xxiii. 1–8 (xii. 1–5). In the period from Solomon to the eighth century, original sources have reached us in greater numbers. Certainly it will continue a moot point whether the main section of Proverbs (x.–xxii. 16) goes back as far as Solomon's time, but it must have been in existence before the eighth century. Canticles was undoubtedly composed in the northern kingdom not very long after Solomon's day. The book of the twelve Judges in its old form, and several songs, point to this era, *e.g.* Ps. viii., xix*a*., xxix., and 1 Sam. ii. 1–10, which is, we may be sure, an old royalist song.

But the most important sources are the older books, which are worked up into our present Pentateuch. Not only must the collection of Laws in Ex. xxi.–xxiii. be older than the year 800 B.C., but a much larger part of the Pentateuch. Side by side with the priestly document A,[1] of which we shall speak later on, there runs right through Genesis a narrative which uses the Divine name "Jehovah" even for patriarchal times, and which was therefore called the book of the Jehovist; by Ewald, the Fourth Narrator of the Primitive History. We denote this writer by B. Like the prophets, he is fond of connecting even the beginnings of the human race with the mission of Israel. His style is richer than that of A, his aim much more definitely religious. He represents the patriarchal view of God as more akin to the later religion of Israel, because

[1] The symbols A, B, C refer simply to the sequence in which the sources meet us in our present book, and do not imply any judgment as to the time at which they severally came into existence.

he does not of set purpose keep his eye on the gradual growth of Israel's legal and moral peculiarities. His work is pervaded by a much stronger and more direct religious spirit, and, at the same time, it takes advantage much more freely of the highly-coloured and wonderfully-varied store of legends current among the people.

Most critics nowadays would bring this book down to the eighth century, as well on account of its diction and its mode of looking at things, as because Assyria is mentioned in it in a way that is only to be explained by the circumstances of this era. I cannot adopt this opinion, and must acknowledge that I still agree with Tuch in his view of the book. For the religious horizon is not so wide, nor the religious diction by any means so full, as is the case even in Hosea, nor is the glance into the nearer future anything like so penetrating. Above all, there is nowhere to be found in the book any definite reference to the hopes of the Davidic dynasty, nor is any attention paid to Zion as the central sanctuary. The holy places of Israel, against the worship at which Amos and Hosea are already fighting with passionate zeal, are, to this historian, objects of perfectly unembarrassed joy and admiration. Neither is it quite certain that the mention of Assyria, in the very passage where it is most striking (Num. xxiv. 24 f.), belongs to B. It is more likely to have been inserted by the last editor. But even if it were B's, and Gen. ii. 14 as well, nevertheless the two together would not be conclusive proof against a very early origin of the book. For the idea that Assyria first became known in Western Asia through Tiglath-Pileser, is a false assumption. According to the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings, it is much more probable that Israel was already tributary to Assyria in Jehu's reign. At any rate, it would require no very intimate acquaintance with foreign lands to know the most warlike people in Asia, whose power dates back to the fourteenth century B.C., even though it had not yet invaded Palestine.

There is no allusion in B to the division of the kingdom after Solomon, or to the feud between Judah and Ephraim; and even the reference in xxii. 2 to the temple hill, Moriah, is certainly foreign to the original narrative, and belongs to a later form of text. Indeed, it appears to me so certain that Micah vi. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, vii. 17; Amos ii. 10, iii. 1, iv. 11, v. 25; Hos. xi. 8, xii. 4, 5 f.;[1] Isa. vii. 14, xxxii. 9 (cf. Gen. iv. 23), refer not merely to the subject-matter of B's legends, but to his very words, that the book must, on this account alone, be considered earlier than the eighth century. Prov. iii. 18, xi. 30, xiii. 12, xv. 7, show acquaintance with the story of Gen. iii.; and 1 Kings xix. with Ex. xxxiv. Hence I believe the book should be assigned to the time of Solomon, a period admirably in keeping with the brilliant colouring of its early legends, its wide knowledge both of history and geography, and its strong national feeling. That there existed from of old a definite "law of God," and a regular ritual in connection with the worship of Jehovah, is clearly proved from the way in which the oldest prophets of the pre-Assyrian time take these for granted as regards both Judah and Israel (Amos ii. 4; Hos. viii. 1, 12).

Side by side with A and B there is found, in the second part of Genesis and in the following books, a considerable number of stories which were formerly attributed to A, because they generally employ the divine name "Elohim," or else were regarded as extracts from A revised by B. On closer examination it was seen that the linguistic character of these passages has no affinity at all with A, but a very close affinity indeed with B; while, at the same time, it has peculiarities enough of its own, apart from the use of the divine name, to warrant our inferring the existence of a separate document. Its author is particularly fond of describing the place of Israel among the

[1] Although Hosea still read these stories in a more sensuous and naïve form, in other words, was probably acquainted with an earlier form of the book than ours (the angel of God "weeps").

nations of the world, its treaties and commercial relations; and in Genesis the dream is a specially prominent feature of his narrative. Those who acknowledge the peculiarities of this writer generally consider him somewhat earlier than B and independent of him. I myself, on the contrary, am convinced that this writer, whom I call C, is later than B. He specially enriched the records of Israel with additions from original sources belonging to the northern tribes. Even if one assumes, with Wellhausen, that this writer is to be considered as originally independent of B, his book and B's were, at any rate, very closely connected long before A's was added to their combined work. It is C whom we have to thank for preserving the old material which now lies before us in a revised form as "The Book of the Covenant" (Ex. xix. ff.). The document of C, I am inclined to assign to the end of the Mosaic period. It is certain that Ex. ii. 21, 22 is already imitated in Judg. xvii. 7, 8, 11. In consequence of the peculiar interweaving with B, C's handiwork can seldom be found unaltered in Genesis, but is so oftener in Exodus. Still where the two are combined, especially in the stories about Israel and Joseph, that is, where the legends of the northern kingdom, to which he undoubtedly belonged, are being dealt with, C is the leading authority all through.

3. Against the fourth period mentioned above, no valid objection can be brought. Prophets of conspicuous ability were certainly at work in Israel long before the eighth century. But the collapse of the first glorious realisation of the theocratic State, and the visible proof of the world's superior strength, afforded by the ever-increasing pressure of the Asiatic empire on divided Israel, necessarily caused a great change in the religious situation. There could not but arise quite new fears, hopes, and aims. And the prophets, in their new *rôle* as teachers of religion and as writers, were, at this stage, unquestionably the guiding spirits that determined the new direction which religion took. Con-

sequently we have a new era to deal with; and a long and trustworthy series of authorities of the first rank gives us the certainty of being able to obtain an accurate picture of it. In fact, this period is, if we may so speak, the centre of gravity of our whole structure.

On one point only could there be any doubt, viz. as to whether, when determining the limits between this period and a later, one should not consider the Babylonian exile as its natural end. So thought de Wette, v. Cölln, and Baumgarten-Crusius, the last cleverly applying the names, Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews, to those who lived respectively during the period of Mosaism, the era of the prophets, and the post-exilic age. It had long been so much the custom to speak of the influences of the Exile upon the religion of Israel, that everything post-exilic was looked on as a whole,—a view of the history of Israel certainly in many respects correct, for Kuenen, Wellhausen, and others have rightly laid stress on the fact that after Ezekiel and the priestly legislation a change begins to come over the whole view of the community regarding religion and morals. But it is just during the exile that not only the legislative activity directed to the sacred ritual, but also the development brought about by the great prophets, attains its most inward and characteristic form. Besides, the spiritualising of the ancestral religion was nowhere so thoroughly carried out in the prophetic spirit as in the literature at the close of the Exile. In like manner, although prophecy by this time was beginning to lose its true freedom and vigour, the community which commenced to rebuild the city was still strongly permeated with the prophetic spirit (Zech. vii. 8 ff.), while visible proofs of foreign influence were as yet quite inconsiderable. But the situation became wholly changed when at the second immigration Ezra and Nehemiah succeeded, though not without violent opposition, in setting up a legally constituted hierarchical State. A very strong bent was then given

to the religious spirit in Israel, which dominated its whole future. Accordingly, we reckon the second period as lasting to the re-establishment of the State under Ezra-Nehemiah. This we call the prophetic period. It is the most brilliant era in the religion of Israel.

The period from 800–459 B.C. falls according to its religious development into the following smaller divisions. First we have the time during which Assyria, showing itself at the outset in the far distance, comes always nearer and nearer, and at last forms the determining factor in Israel's destiny, till it is hurled from the summit of its power by the invading Medes and Chaldeans, and is in a short time utterly blotted out from the roll of nations. This division from 800 B.C. to about 630 B.C., when the decisive attack on Nineveh began, we call the Assyrian period. Then the Chaldean empire in Babylon steps into the foreground of history. Leagued with the Medes, it overthrows Nineveh, destroys the last remnants of independence in Israel, and carries the people off into captivity. The short time during which this empire flourished before harbingers of its speedy fall began to appear, that is, from 630 till about 560, forms the Chaldean period.

Finally, with the first dawning hope of rescue through the rise of the Medo-Persian empire a new life began in Israel. Ere long the tyrant's citadel is stormed; permission to return is granted; a colony of godly men, with Zerubbabel a son of David, and Joshua the high priest, at their head, return home, rebuild the holy city, and commence, under Persian suzerainty, a new, distinctive social life, although with little prospect of real success, till with the arrival of Ezra and Nehemiah new forces come into play. This period, from the decline of the Babylonian power till Ezra (560–460 B.C.), forms the Persian period of the epoch under consideration. We have now to point out the various original authorities for each of these three periods.

(*a*) 800–630 B.C. The great prophets of the eighth century refer to an older literature, which, like Isa. xv. and xvi., probably belongs to the ninth century. But for the history of religion these sources are of little importance. The book of Joel would be of greater weight did it date, as I myself, like most theologians, formerly supposed, from the ninth century. But although I do not consider that the reasons in favour of this opinion have been conclusively refuted, I must, in deference to Hilgenfeld, Merx, Duhm, Stade, and Oort, confess that it would not be right to use this book for the earliest period, so long as there are such strong and unrefuted reasons for regarding it as a prophetic work of art dating from the post-exilic age. Hence the earliest important source that we have is Amos, who dates from the reign of Jeroboam II.; then Hosea, and the author of Zech. ix., x., xi., xiii. 7 ff., who, it is plain, lived during the terrible time of anarchy after Jeroboam's death.[1] During the middle part of this period Isaiah[2] was active as a prophet certainly from 740 B.C. to about 700 B.C. Next to him comes Micah,[3] and towards the close of the same period

[1] Certainly this is vigorously combated by more recent scholars (cf. especially Stade, *Zeitschrift f. alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1881, i. 96; 1882, ii. 151, 275). Zech. ix.–xiv. is held to be the work of an author who must be regarded as an imitative prophet belonging to the period subsequent to the death of Alexander. I frankly confess that the mention of Javan throws a very heavy weight into the scale in favour of this view. But till it can be explained how a Jew in the days of Alexander's successors, instead of prophesying the return of Ephraim could express a hope that all the men of war in Ephraim might utterly perish,—and further, how he could picture his Messiah on an ass, like one of the ancient Judges and Kings,—and so long as recourse must be had to arbitrary exegesis, such as taking the three shepherds of chap. xi. to mean imperial powers (Assyria, Babylon, Persia), or explaining the house of David by communal officials after the Exile (Isa. vii.), or representing the Canaanites as shepherds who sell the people,—I for one shall hold by the old view. To arrange the chronology of the prophetical books according to a preconceived idea as to the development of the Messianic hope, reminds one of dubious examples of New Testament criticism.

[2] i.–xii., xiv. 24 to end, xvi. 13 to xx., xxi. 11 to xxiii., xxviii. to xxxiii.

[3] The reasons which have induced Stade to deny to the prophet everything except chaps. i.–iii., Ewald and others everything except i.–v., and to set aside ii. 12, 13 as a gloss, appear to me altogether insufficient.

we must think of Nahum, who may have prophesied somewhere about 640 B.C., and of Zephaniah, who already hints at the threatening danger of Chaldean tyranny—about 630 B.C.

Of historical pieces, we assign to this period the work which deals in a somewhat free style with the history of David, as well as the oldest account of the history of Elijah and Elisha, and, according to xviii. 30, also the story in Judg. xvii. and xviii. As these books were re-edited at a later date, one can often come only to an approximate judgment as to how they should be used in regard to matters of detail. Deuteronomy we assign to the following period, because though it may have been written earlier, it certainly had no influence on the history of religion till after its promulgation. It was during this period, and in northern Israel, that the song Deut. xxxii. was composed.

Whether the successive collections of the book of Proverbs, and songs such as Ps. xlvi. and xlviii., belong to this age, cannot be definitely settled. In like manner it cannot be denied that the book of Job, notwithstanding much that tells in favour of ascribing it to this age, may perhaps, in view of its relations to Jeremiah, and the whole position of the problem, belong to the later times of Israel's suffering.

(*b*) 630–560 B.C. To the early part of this period we assign with confidence the introduction of Deuteronomy, that is, its taking effect as law, and its combination with the blessing of Moses, chap. xxxiii. Immediately thereafter Jeremiah commences his active career as prophet. His writings, from the thirteenth year of Josiah onwards, are the chief original sources for all the first part of this period.[1] As his younger

[1] Jer. xxv. 2 f. From the relation of Jer. xlix. 7 ff. to Obadiah, the latter would be an older contemporary of Jeremiah. Still, on the other hand, Obadiah, if he belongs at all to this age, must have written after the destruction of Jerusalem. In that case Obadiah, like Jeremiah, quoted an older prophet. Of Jeremiah's writings the only parts of which the authorship can be reasonably called in question are xxxiii. 14–26, x. 1–16, and l.–li.

contemporaries, we have the author of Zech. xii., xiii. 1-7, xiv., and Habakkuk, who both prophesy immediately before the threatened capture of the city (600 B.C.). For the second half of this period the chief representative of prophecy is Ezekiel, who laboured from about 593 B.C. among the colony of captives on the Chebar. As to the historical books, the gradual formation of the books of Kings probably belongs to this period, although the last section of it will fall within the post-exilic period. Its moralising tone in dealing with ancient history, shown, for example, in 1 Kings viii. and in many other passages, points to the same conclusion; the older records were more after the style of a chronicle. Pieces like Isa. xxxvi.–xxxix. and Jer. lii. cannot have received their present form till at least the second half of this period.

But of still greater importance are the parts of the Pentateuch literature which point to this age. Certainly the fine code of laws (Lev. xvii. ff.) dates from the time of the Exile, and probably also, as a whole, the great work of A, into which that code has been incorporated. This book has been subjected to such careful investigation, and, notwithstanding the dispute as to its date, there is such general agreement as regards both its contents and its range, among commentators like Kayser, Nöldeke, Dillmann, Graf, Schrader, Wellhausen, etc., that I shall content myself with a mere sketch of it, drawn chiefly from the work of the last-named scholar (*Jahrb. f. d. Th.* 1876, 3. 4). It is a thoroughly homogeneous work, constructed on a well-arranged plan, and for the most part preserved with such care by the editors of the Pentateuch, that, in combining it with the other books, it is only occasionally that even single words and sentences have had to be sacrificed. Its object was to bring vividly before the reader's mind the origin of the sacred customs and the religious possessions of the people. It therefore begins with the God Elohim, who becomes to the patriarchs, El Schaddai,

and to Moses, Jehovah. In the first place, it represents the Sabbath and the command to abstain from blood as sacred customs originally binding upon all mankind, and circumcision as a custom common to the descendants of Abraham. It next shows us in broad outline how the sacred institutions of Israel took their rise under Moses, especially the law of sacrifice [1] in its most artistic development, and also the origin of the festal year as based on the Sabbath, and of the holy place, which is represented in most ideal completeness by the tabernacle. It next carries us past the death of Moses to the settlement of Israel in Canaan, which is in like manner represented as ideally complete, the tribes portioning out the whole land among themselves in an equitable and peaceful manner. It comes to a close in the time of the Judges, although it may originally have gone farther, or at least have been intended to go farther. Written in a simple lucid style, without any special force or grandeur of diction, it invariably becomes diffuse when dealing with anything that is important from the standpoint of ritual or of law. It may therefore be considered the work of a priest.

While it is certain that laws of ritual were in existence in Israel even earlier than this,[2] it is equally certain that the arrangements here presupposed were not known in the time of the older prophets. Deuteronomy has as little knowledge of this book as B and C. The section, Lev. xvii. ff., which is incorporated with it, has an unmistakable similarity to Ezekiel's phraseology and mode of thought. The book is the work of a priest who, undeterred by the existence of sanctuaries in Israel,[3] has presented us with his ideal of

[1] Unless the special codes of laws in Lev. i. ff. were not incorporated with it till a later date. (Wurster, in Stade, iv. 112 ff., maintains that Lev. i.–vii., xi.–xv., were already codified in the ninth or eighth century.)

[2] Hos. iv. 7 ff., vii. 12; Amos iv. 5, v. 22; 1 Sam. ii. 12, 15, 16.

[3] That the book cannot have been written after the Exile in Jerusalem is acknowledged even by Kuenen and his followers. But even in Babylon, in view of the fact of a newly-restored ritual and temple, this document would be scarcely intelligible.

sacred customs in the form of a history of the development of religious ritual in Israel.

Of poetical pieces, Prov. i.–ix. points rather to the second half of this period than to the time after the Exile. The speeches of Elihu in Job cannot well have been composed later than about 600 B.C. The book of Lamentations certainly points to the first half of the Babylonian exile. Of the Psalms, a large number refer to the times of Jeremiah, perhaps to himself, and testify to the impression produced by the destruction of the holy city — among these, such beautiful ones as the 22nd, the 51st, etc. Having at our command so considerable a number of prophetical authorities of known date, it is possible for us to reach absolute certainty as to the position of Old Testament religion. Even what is doubtful, particularly in the domain of the Psalms, attains to something like certainty when fitted into the frame of ascertained facts regarding the prophetical writings.

(*c*) 560–460 B.C. Towards the end of the Babylonian exile there arose a series of prophets whose common object was to proclaim the restoration of Israel and the destruction of the Chaldeans, and to call upon the people to rally with eager joy round the standard of God. Their names are forgotten—were probably never known. For, under the suspicious eye of Babylonian tyrants, and in view of their harsh treatment of prophets who incited the captives to rebel,[1] it was certainly impossible for a prophet to show himself openly. Only by writings circulated in secret, and perhaps by purposely hiding their identity under the mask of old and famous names, could these men, in many respects the greatest prophets whom Israel ever produced, attempt to fulfil the commission given them by God. And these we have probably to seek among the men whom the Chaldean power crushed even in its death-throes. Room was found for them, especially in the book of

[1] As Jer. xxix. 22 takes for granted.

Isaiah. It was not till after the Exile that its three collections of speeches were combined and enlarged into the book we now have. They are to be found in Isa. xiii. 1–xiv. 23, xxi. 1–10, xxxiv., xxxv., xl.–lxvi. We indicate these pieces in our quotations as the book of Isaiah (B. J.). To these also belong chaps. l., li. of Jeremiah, which unquestionably point, in spite of Graf's doubts, to the time of Babylon's destruction.[1] Among those who returned to Jerusalem were the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, the author of Zech. i.–viii. inclusive. Perhaps the difficult section, Isa. xxiv.–xxvii. inclusive, also belongs to the period after the return. There is no doubt, at any rate, that it cannot belong to the prophet Isaiah, though there is very great doubt indeed as to when and in what circumstances it actually originated.[2]

The historical books, so far as in our Canon these are still included in the law and the prophets, were then complete as regards their own special contents. Their final editing and arrangement, on the contrary, was, like the final arrangement of the Psalms and the fragments of the prophetical writings, the work of Ezra and his successors. The book of Ruth, although it knows so well how to present in a form true to antiquity the circumstances of the age which it depicts, cannot in its present form be older than the year 500 B.C. And to the same period belongs the book of Jonah, as an answer to the sceptical question why the divine threats were not all carried out at once and in their full severity. To decide which

[1] Not because the view of Babylon's destruction by the Medes and their allies lay beyond Jeremiah's horizon, but because the temple is represented as actually in ruins, l. 28, li. 11, 51, because Babylon's position and future are spoken of quite differently from the way in which Jeremiah speaks elsewhere (xxv. 9, xxvii. 6, xxviii., xxix., xxxvii., xxxviii., xliii. 10; cf. l. 11, 24, 31, li. 7, 34, 53), and because the language, although intentionally akin to his, and taken from him, nevertheless differs from the genuine writings of Jeremiah the prophet in a very marked way in its diffuseness and want of independence. The piece may be from the pen of one of Jeremiah's disciples.

[2] According to Smend, the hostile capital, xxv. 10, would be a city of Moab, and the date would fall between Nehemiah and Hyrcanus. Kuenen, ii. 2, thinks of a contemporary of Obadiah in Palestine under Nebuchadnezzar.

Psalms belong to this period, rather than to the following, is extremely difficult, and in many cases absolutely impossible.

4. The period from Ezra to the Asmonæan dynasty we term the Levitical period, in which religion, although it had not yet come to a complete standstill, had no longer, as a whole, any real vitality, but was gradually petrifying into a system of statutory ritual. None of the writings of this age have any special religious value. Not one of them can bear comparison with the nobler monuments of the prophetic age. It is impossible not to notice a decline of healthful creative energy, an exaltation of the letter of Scripture above the prophetic spirit, and a further development of the tendency already begun in Ezekiel, A, and Zechariah. The Psalms alone indicate an advance in the inward and personal character of religious life.

(*a*) 460–330 B.C. With the exception of the little book of Malachi, tradition ascribes none of the prophetical books to this period. But we must, at any rate, acknowledge the possibility that during this time a not inconsiderable number of writers, skilled in reproducing prophecy, were busily at work. Such perhaps was Joel, such possibly writers whose productions are screened behind the names of Isaiah and Jeremiah. Perhaps also in this period of Persian suzerainty, the great historical work arose which, founded on older sources, *e.g.* Ezra's and Nehemiah's own journals, now includes the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, thus giving a history of the Jewish hierarchy from the beginning of the world to the restoration of Jerusalem. It is clear that this work was composed at least five generations after the return.[1] Still it is quite probable that it belongs to a considerably later period.[2] Scarcely in any other book does the Levitical spirit come out so strongly as in this. Even the older historical writings in the Old Testament do not seek to reach what we

[1] Neh. xii. 13, cf. 10, 22 (26, 47).

[2] Kuenen puts it about 250 B.C. Wellhausen sees in Darius the Persian, Neh. xii. 22, Codomannus.

regard as the true goal of historical science. Their real aim is not the discovery and the accurate statement of facts. These are only the materials by means of which they bring into visibility the grand thoughts and principles of religion. But in the older historical writings of Israel this results from the author being directly filled with the spirit of religion. The intense interest which these writers have in religion causes them to put light and shade, as it were, spontaneously into their grand pictures of history, so that the national history of Israel becomes in itself an instructive proof of the fundamental truths of revealed religion. It is different in Chronicles. Here we find, not an involuntary working of the spirit, but a conscious intention to instruct. Happiness and Levitical piety, misery and irreligion, are made to correspond down to the most minute details. The purpose of the historian is everywhere manifest. And it is not a man's moral and religious principle which determines his lot, but external conformity to sacred forms. Where the chronicler differs from the earlier accounts, it is certainly possible that he may have had before him special documents. But the greatest caution must be used before accepting new facts solely on the authority of this book; and even where the facts are undisputed, one must often question their setting and explanation. A particularly well-known instance of this is the story of King Manasseh's captivity and conversion.[1] From the whole history of that period, it is in itself very likely that, on the occasion of the destruction of Samuges, an Assyrian force under Assurbanipal in 647, punished the faithless vassal on the throne of Judah, and that he was kept for a time as a hostage in the hands of the Assyrian king, who was then himself residing in Babylon. For, from the new arrange-

[1] Cf. K. H. Graf, "The Captivity and Conversion of Manasseh, 2 Chron. xxiii." (*Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1859, iii. 467 ff.). Against him, Gerlach, *l.c.* 1861, iii. 503 ff. Cf. esp. 2 Chron. viii. 2, xiii., xiv., xx. 20 ff., xxi. 11 ff., xxv. 7 ff., xxviii. 9 ff., xxx. etc.

ments made by Esarhaddon with Samaria, and from the inscriptions bearing on the expedition of this king and his successor, we know that the successors of Sennacherib had once more advanced in strong force into Western Asia. But the course of events, at any rate, cannot have been as is related in Chronicles. For, had Manasseh really died penitent, and in the full enjoyment of God's favour, later generations could not have considered his guilt to be the reason why the punishment of his people could not be any longer delayed, as they actually did.[1]

The little puzzling book Qoheleth, which bears the name of Solomon, may also belong to this age. At least, had it been written later, it is not easy to understand how a book, characterised by such scepticism, could have found its way into the Canon.[2] The number of Psalms which date from this period and the one immediately following, is very large. For, at all events, by the time Chronicles was composed, the Psalter as a whole must have been in existence. Hence the majority of the later Psalms must, at the latest, date from this period,[3] although certainly the use of the doxology in the Psalm-mosaic of Chronicles does not prove that the whole of our Psalter was then in existence, and still less that it was kept strictly closed.

(*b*) 330–160 B.C. Esther, a book religiously of little importance, and also a series of Psalms in the latest books of the Psalter, appear to date from the time of the Ptolemaic suzerainty. The original of Jesus the son of Sirach, too, cannot be assigned to a later date than this.

Out of the Syrian period we have the book of Daniel (167 B.C.), and also Ps. xliv. and lxxiv. Next to these

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3; Jer. xv. 4.

[2] Yet cf. Kleinert, "Sind im Buche Qoh. ausserhebräische Einflüsse anzuerkennen?" (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1883, iv. 760 ff.), and on Ecclesiastes, the writings of Ch. H. H. Wright, 1883; Th. Tyler, 1874; E. H. Plumptre, 1882.

[3] 1 Chron. xvi. 36, with the doxology of Ps. cv., cvi.; cf. also the way in which the grandson of Sirach speaks of the translation of the Hagiographa.

comes the oldest part of the book of Enoch, then the third book of the Sibyl and the first book of the Maccabees, perhaps also Tobias, Baruch, and the original text of Judith. All other apocryphal writings point at the earliest to the last century before Christ.

CHAPTER VI.

LITERATURE OF OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

A full description of the development of Biblical theology as a distinct branch of study we do not consider it necessary to give. That has already been done a good while ago with tolerable thoroughness by v. Cölln, § 4; Baumgarten-Crusius, iii. 1*a*; and by Hävernick, 2nd edition, pp. 5–12. Since then, Diestel, in his exhaustive work, entitled, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche*, 1869, has given us everything relating to this subject, in full detail and from the right standpoint. Weiss, too, in his handbook on the Biblical theology of the New Testament, discusses with sufficient fulness everything relating to the progress of Biblical theology. In a description of this progress, the one really instructive fact is this, that it was only through the gradual giving up of the conviction as to the perfect harmony between the teaching of the Bible and the Church that this science of ours could obtain a start and acquire a position of growing importance,—that ere long it began to take up a hostile attitude to the doctrine of the Church, founding itself on the Bible, and at last to the doctrine of the Bible itself as being limited by the circumstances of its own age, until it gradually resumed the friendly attitude which it had formerly held towards dogmatics as its handmaid for discovering proof-passages, now, however, in the more honourable and scientific form of serving as the historical foundation of Christian dogmatics and ethics. That

both have in more recent days been subjected once more to an unnatural amalgamation, implying that dogmatics, by surrendering the form given to it by the Church, must again become identical with the doctrine of the Bible, is only one more sign of the retrograde tendency of the theological science of the present day, and will pass away along with that tendency.

Consequently, we give only the literature itself arranged in groups, so as to bring out clearly the significance of the individual books for the general development of our subject.

1. *Treatises by which the conception of Biblical theology has been more clearly developed.*

Of fundamental importance for our branch of study was the attempt to make exposition entirely independent of dogmatics. Such were Semler's works, *Vorbereitung zur theologischen Hermeneutik*, 1760, Bd. i. 2, 3*a*, 3*b*; *Apparatus ad liberaliorem Novi Testamenti interpretationem*, 1767, *Veteris Testamenti*, 1773; *Neuer Versuch die gemeinnützige Auslegung und Anwendung des N. T. zu befördern*, 1786. On Semler, cf. Diestel (*Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1867).—Keil (*De historica librorum Sacrorum interpretatione ejusque necessitate, in den opusc. theol.*, ed. Goldhorn, Lips. 1821, i. 84 ff.).

The inaugural lecture of J. Ph. Gabler (*De justo discrimine theologiæ biblicæ et dogmaticæ regundisque recte utriusque finibus*, Alt. 1787; republished by his sons in his minor theological writings, Ulm, 1831, ii. p. 179 ff.) applies these views to Biblical theology. He is the first to classify Biblical theology definitely as a historical science, but he nevertheless demands that the ideas should be stripped of their historical shell. Alongside of him we may place °J. G. Hoffmann, *Oratio de theologiæ biblicæ præstantia*, Alt. 1770; and °Eberhard Schmid, *Dissert. II. de theologia biblica*, Jena 1788 (?).

In contrast with the philosophical explanation of Biblical theology, Herder (18, *Brief über das Studium der Theologie*)

lays special stress on its historical character; and K. W. Stein ("Ueber den Begriff und die Behandlungsart der biblischen Theologie," in Keil and Tzschirner's *Analecta*, Bd. iii. H. 1, 151–204) maintains that the truth of reason ought to have no influence on the presentation of the Biblical system, which should be based solely on a historical principle. Similarly (?), °A. G. F. Schirmer, *Die biblische Dogmatik in ihrer Darstellung und in ihrem Verhalten zu dem Ganzen der Theologie*, Breslau 1820.

A satisfactory glimpse into the essence of Biblical theology is given by Schmidt ("Ueber Interesse und Stand der biblischen Theologie des Neuen Testamentes in unsrer Zeit," *Tübinger theologische Zeitschrift*, 1838, 4). The true principles are given for the Old Testament in a more important and complete form by G. F. Oehler (*Prolegomena zur Theologie des Alten Testamentes*, Stuttg. 1845). Besides these, we may mention F. Fleck ("Ueber biblische Theologie als Wissenschaft unsrer Zeit," Röhr's *Predigerbibl. Th.* 86, 1834), C. J. Nitzsch (Herzog's *Realencyclopädie*, ii. 219 ff., Aufl. 2, M. Kähler), Schenkel ("Die Aufgabe der biblischen Theologie in dem gegenwärtigen Entwicklungsstadium der theologischen Wissenschaft," *Theol. Stud. und Kritiken*, 1852, i. 40 ff.), Weiss ("Das Verhältniss der Exegese zur biblischen Theologie," in the *Deutschen Zeitschr. für christl. Wissenschaft und Leben*, 1852, 38, 39; cf. also his *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testamentes*, § 5).

2. *Expositions of Old Testament Theology.*

We may pass over altogether such books as are practically mere collections of proof passages for dogmatics, like those of Sebastian Schmid, 1671, 3rd ed. 1689; Joh. Guil. Baier, 1716; Hülsemann, 1679; König, 1651; Zickler, 1753–6; Haymann, 1768; C. E. Weissmann, 1739; and also Semler's own attempt in 1764. The subject-matter proper is ap-

proached from the standpoint of a free-thinking supranaturalism in the following works, in themselves of little importance, Büsching (*Dissertatio*, 1756; *Epitome theologiæ e solis libris sacris concinnatæ Lemgo*, 1757), and Storr (*Doctr. christ. pars theor. e solis libris sacris repetita*, 1793; German by Flatt, 1803), Buddeus (*Historia Eccl. Vet. Test.*, 2 vols. 1726, 29, 3rd ed.), as well as in the far more important work of Gotthilf Traugott Zachariä (*Biblische Theologie oder Untersuchung des biblischen Grundes der vornehmsten theologischen Lehren*, 1772–86, 6 vols., the last by Vollborth). The book of C. A. Crusius (*Vorstellung von dem eigentlichen und schriftgemässen Plane des Reiches Gottes*, 1768), written also from a mildly supranaturalistic standpoint, is rather a brief compendium of Christian doctrine. For a criticism of him, cf. Delitzsch, *Die biblisch-prophetische Theologie, ihre Fortbildung durch C. A. Crusius und ihre neueste Entwicklung*, 1845.

J. H. Majus takes up an intermediate position in his *Theologia prophetica*, 1710, and *Synopsis theologiæ christianæ e solis Verbis Christi*, 1708, 4. Abr. Teller is hostile to the doctrine of the Church (*Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens*, 1764; *Topice sacræ scripturæ*, 1761), and C. F. Bahrdt to the doctrine both of the Church and the Bible (*Versuch eines biblischen Systems der Dogmatik*, 1769–70, 1784).

With the intention of giving a really historical presentation, but certainly without actually attaining his object, Ammon wrote his *Biblische Theologie*, in 3 vols., 2nd ed. 1801–2, etc.; with still less success, W. Fr. Hufnagel, *Die Schrift des Alten Testamentes nach ihrem Inhalt und Zweck bearbeitet*, of which vols. i. and ii.*a* appeared Erl. 1785–6. Bretschneider, too (*Die Grundlagen des evangelischen Pietismus*, Leipz. 1833), gives nothing else but observations on the chief dogmas taken separately. G. Lorenz Bauer wrote from a thoroughly historical standpoint, except that in so doing he was too little conscious of the uniqueness and the unity of the Biblical literature (in addition to minor writings, for

which cf. v. Cölln, 24 N. 24, *Theologie des Alten Testamentes*, Leipz. 1796; *Mythologie des Alten und Neuen Testamentes*, 2 vols. 1802). G. Ph. Chr. Kaiser is a brilliant though far from accurate writer, and with a tendency to confuse even the most widely different things (*Die biblische Theologie oder Judaismus und Christianismus nach der grammatisch-historischen Interpretationsmethode und nach einer freimüthigen Stellung in die kritisch vergleichende Universalgeschichte der Religionen und die universale Religion*, vol. i. 1813, ii. 1814, ii.*b* 1821). The book is commended to readers "who are observant students of mankind, and who, refusing to believe that any one Church is in sole possession of salvation, are learning to find out and appreciate the honest worshipper of the Divine in every age and clime, whose religion is neither Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism, nor Paganism, but religious Universalism, Catholicism, in the true sense of the word, what our theologians call perfectible Christianity." Vol. ii.*b*, however, which treats of the Biblical doctrine of morals, is written in an entirely different spirit.

Among somewhat modern works that are still of value, we may mention, of those written from the Hegelian standpoint, Vatke (*Die biblische Theologie wissenschaftlich dargestellt*; vol. i., *Die Religion des Alten Testamentes nach den canonischen Büchern entwickelt*, Berlin 1835, not continued), Bruno Bauer (*Die Religion des Alten Testamentes*, vol. i. 1838, ii. 1839). [6]L. Noack goes still further (*Die biblische Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testamentes*, 1853).

From the side of scientifically critical theology we have de Wette (*Biblische Dogmatik Alten und Neuen Testamentes, oder kritische Darstellung der Religionslehre des Hebraismus, des Judenthums und des Urchristenthums*, 3rd ed. 1831), Daniel von Cölln (*Biblische Theologie*, vol. i., ed. Dav. Schultz, Breslau 1836), Gramberg (*Geschichte der Religionsideen des Alten Testamentes*, 2 vols. 1829–30), Cäsar v. Lengerke

(*Volks- und Religionsgeschichte Israels, Kenaan,* Th. i. 1844). Important contributions are found in Ewald (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* vol. i. 3rd ed. 1864, ii. 1853, iii. 2nd ed. 1853, iv. 3rd ed. 1864; *Alterthümer,* 3rd ed. 1866). From the school which is more inclined to defend the doctrine of the Church, we have L. F. O. Baumgarten-Crusius (*Grundzüge der biblischen Theologie,* Jena 1828), S. Lutz (*Bibl. Dogmatik,* ed. Ruetschi Pforzh. 1847). From an apologetic standpoint we have Steudel (*Vorlesungen über die Theologie des Alten Testamentes,* ed. Oehler, Berlin 1840) and Hävernick (*Vorlesungen über die Theologie des Alten Testamentes,* ed. Hahn 1848; 2nd ed., Hermann Schultz, with notes and Appendices, 1863).

Many points of contact with our work may be found in v. Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis,* 2nd ed. vol. i., ii.*a*, ii.*b*, 1857–60) and J. T. Beck (*Die christliche Lehrwissenschaft nach den biblischen Urkunden,* vol. i. 1841).

Since the first edition of this work appeared, Dr. A. Kuenen (in his book, *De Godsdienst van Israel tot den ondergang van den Joodschen Staat,* Haarlem 1869, and later in *De Profeten en de Profetie onder Israel, Historisch-dogmatische Studie,* Leiden 1875) has discussed the contents of the Old Testament with great acuteness, though he often goes too far. Among German scholars, Prof. Lic. Bernh. Duhm comes nearest to him in his *Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innre Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion,* Bonn 1875.[1] H. Ewald devoted a great part of his work (*Lehre der Bibel von Gott,* 1871–75) to the doctrinal contents of the Old Testament. Still the

[1] The assertions of Duhm are partly attacked or modified in the essay of R. Smend, "Ueber die von den Propheten des achten Jahrhunderts vorausgesetzte Entwicklungsstufe der israelitischen Religion" (*Studien und Kritiken,* 1876, 4); cf. the dissertation by the same author, *Moses apud prophetas.* As combating the views of Kuenen and his German disciples, it is worth while mentioning Fr. Ed. König's book, *Die Hauptprobleme der altisraelitischen Religionsgeschichte gegenüber den Entwicklungstheoretikern beleuchtet,* Leipzig 1884.

peculiar combination of ethical dogmatics with Biblical theology, and the interweaving of the dogmatic materials in the Old and in the New Testaments, make this work of little service for our purpose. The lectures of Dr. Gust. Friedr. Oehler, whose contributions to this science were specially great, published in two volumes in 1873–74, under the title, *Die Theologie des Alten Testaments*, do not contain very much beyond what the author himself had previously given to the world in separate essays on the questions dealt with in this branch of study. A still smaller contribution to the real advance of this science was made by the publication of Hitzig's lectures (ed. Kneuker, 1880, Karlruhe), and of Kayser's (ed. Reuss, 1886), after the death of these scholars. A very similar verdict must be passed on the *Alttestamentliche Theologie* of the late Dr. Ed. Riehm (ed. Pahnke, 1889).

FIRST MAIN DIVISION.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGION AND MORALS IN ISRAEL TILL THE FOUNDING OF THE ASMONÆAN STATE.

CHAPTER VII.

ISRAEL'S PRE-MOSAIC AGE.

LITERATURE.—E. Renan, "Nouvelles considérations sur le caractère général des peuples sémitiques" (*Journ. Asiat.* 1859); cf. *Histoire et système comparé des langues sémitiques*, Paris, 2nd ed. 1858, 1, 2. Grau, *Semiten und Indogermanen in ihren Beziehungen zu Religion und Wissenschaft*, 1864, 66. Steinthal, "Characteristik der semitischen Völker" (*Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, ed. Lazarus and Steinthal, 1850, vol. i. 328–345. Oehler, "Volk Gottes" (art. in Herzog's *Realencyclopädie*, 1st ed.). Max Müller's *Essays on Semitic Monotheism*. Joh. Röntsch, *Ueber Indogermanen und Semitenthum. Eine völkerpsychologische Studie*, 1872. Ludwig Krehl, *Ueber die Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, Leipzig 1863. Palgrave, *A Year's Journey in Arabia*, 1862–3. Osiander, *Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vii. 1853. Merx, "Abgötterei in Israel" (art. in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*). Ben-David, *Ueber die Religion der Hebräer vor Moses*. Land, "Over den Godsnamen יהוה," etc. (*Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1868, 156 ff.). L. Seineke, *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, Gött. 1876,

vol. i. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israël*, p. 403 ff. Selden, "De Dîs Syris" (in Ugolin, *Thesaur. Ant. Sacr.* xxiii.). Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, 1856 (vol. i. 301 ff., esp. 395 ff.; vol. ii. 153, 273 ff., 367, 380 ff.). Tuch, "Ueber die Eigennamen der alten Araber in ihrer Zusammensetzung mit Gottesnamen" (*Zeitschr. der deutsch-morgenländ Gesellsch.* iii. 153). Münter, *Die Religion der Carthager.* Diestel, "Der Monotheismus des älteren Heidenthums vorzüglich bei den Semiten" (*Jahrb. für deutsche Theologie*, 1860, 4, p. 669 ff., 2 art.). Dillmann, "Ueber den Ursprung der alttestamentlichen Religion," an inaugural lecture delivered on May 3rd, 1865, at Giessen. Movers, *Religion der Phöniken*, i. 168 ff. (cf. the essays on the Mesha stone by Clermont, Ganneau, Schlottmann, and Nöldeke, and the article by Schlottmann on the inscription of Eschmunazar, 1868). Ewald, "Neue Untersuchungen über den Gott der Erzväter" (*Jahr. f. bibl. Wissenschaft*, 1859–61, vol. x. 1 ff., cf. vol. vi. 1 ff. [0]Klose, *De polytheismi vestigiis apud Hebraeos ante Mosem*, 4, Gött. 1830. Bruno Bauer (*Zeitschrift für specul. Theol.* i. 1, 140 ff.). "Der mosaische Ursprung der Gesetzgebung des Pentateuch." F. W. Ghillany, *Die Menschenopfer der alten Hebräer*, Nürnb. 1842, and Fr. Daumer, *Der Feuer- und Molochsdienst der alten Hebräer*, 1842. Bernstein, *Ursprung der Sagen von Abraham, Isaak und Jacob*, 1871. Jul. Grill, *Die Erzväter der Menschheit, ein Beitrag zur Grundlegung einer hebräischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, erste Abtheilung, 1875. Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, 1876. Lenormant, *Les premières civilisations*, 1874; *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Berose d'après les textes cunéiformes*, 1871; *Les sciences occultes en Asie*, 1874. Schrader, "Semitismus und Babylonismus" (*Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* 1875, i. 117 ff.); cf. *Zeitschrift der deutsch-morgenl. Gesellsch.* xxvii. 397 ff.; *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1874, 2. *Die Höllenfahrt der Istar, ein altbabyl. Epos* 1874.

1. In Genesis, as we now have it, we get a picture, as rich

as it is attractive, of the religious and moral condition of the primeval Hebrew world. The latest narrative by A certainly means to draw a clear distinction between that condition and the one created by Moses. But even it takes for granted, from the time of our first parents onwards, a special relation between God and man. That relation is renewed with Noah, and develops in the case of Abraham into a special covenant of friendship.[1] Thus the external life of all mankind, as well as the special relation of Israel to redemption, rests upon a covenant of God with man.[2] And in Noah's case, as afterwards pre-emininently in Abraham's, pious faith in the divine commands and promises, combined with a walking with God and obedience to His ordinances, is represented as the simple foundation of religion.[3] To these times is traced back the origin of the sacred customs characteristic of Israel, especially circumcision and abstinence from blood,[4]—while the principle on which the sacred times are arranged is loftily explained as based on the creative work of God Himself.[5] Here, of course, there is no question of historical reminiscences.

The earlier narrative of B and C, which is based on actual popular tradition, shows still less hesitation in describing the patriarchal age as essentially similar, so far as religion is concerned, to the later age of Mosaism. From the Fall onwards it takes the Mosaic form of sacrifice for granted.[6] From the time of Enosh men call on the holy name of Jehovah (Jahveh).[7] It knows even in patriarchal times of the distinction between clean and unclean beasts,[8] and of Jehovah being inquired of by oracle.[9] Even then it speaks of God's covenant relations with Israel, and refers quite definitely and clearly to the coming salvation.[10] In those ages the theo-

[1] Gen. i. 28–30, ix. 1 ff., xvii.
[2] Gen. ix. 11, 12, xvii. 7 ff.
[3] Gen. vi. 22, 9, xvii. 1, 3 (cf. ver. 22).
[4] Gen. ix. 4, xvii. 10 ff.
[5] Gen. ii. 3.
[6] Gen. iv. 3, viii. 20 ff.
[7] Gen. iv. 26.
[8] Gen. vii. 2, 8, viii. 20.
[9] Gen. xxv. 22.
[10] Gen. xii. 2 ff., xv. 5, 13 ff., xviii. 17 ff., xxii. 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14.

phanies and the appearances of the angel of God occur in a tangible, almost mythological way.[1]

This narrative is particularly fond of describing the patriarchs as splendid examples of humble faith and devoted piety,[2] as men who acted towards their kinsfolk and in all matters of right[3] according to the highest principles of morality, who were strictly upright and honest to those within a clearly defined circle,[4] and who were hospitable and open-handed,[5]—all this, however, being consistent with a natural right to deceive those outside that circle,[6] as well as with considerable moral laxity and even licence.[7] This picture is essentially the same as that which the inhabitants of the North-Arabian desert still consider the beau-ideal of a pious and upright man. That such sketches cannot possess the value of historical accounts, is evident from the whole style of the narrative. It is a general picture of religion and morals in the light of a later period. Even in its freshest and most original form sacred legend is still only legend. But for giving a knowledge of these primitive days it is not by any means, on that account, wholly valueless.

2. It certainly appears to us a well-grounded conviction, that Moses must have found the Hebrew nation already in possession of views of religion and morals fitted to serve as the basis of his work. He must have found already prevalent the belief in a God who was bound to this people by a special covenant. However dim this belief may have been, it must at least have implied a personal God who had absolute power over nature. The grand simple principles of morality and justice must have been already thought of as

[1] Gen. xvi. 7 ff., xviii. 19, xxviii. 10 ff., xxxii. 25 ff.
[2] Gen. xii. 4, xv. 6 f., xxii. 2 ff. ; cf. also xviii. 23 ff. etc.
[3] Gen. xiii. 8 ff., xiv. 24, xxi. 22 ff., xxvi. 16 ff., xxxix. 8 ff. etc.
[4] Gen. xvi. 6 f., xxxi. 36 ff., etc.
[5] Gen. xviii. 2 ff., xix. 1 ff., xxiv. 31 ff., xiv. 22 ff.
[6] Gen. xii. 13 ff., xxvi. 7 f., xxvii. 11 ff.
[7] Gen. xxxviii. 16 ff., xxxiv. 25 ff., ix. 21 ff., xliii. 34.

involved in relationship to this God, and there must have already existed among the people a number of outward rites and ceremonies. Only on such assumptions could Moses, as the messenger of the God of their fathers, claim and secure obedience to his commands as a political prophet, muster a down-trodden people in the name of its God, and lead it onwards to an uncertain future.[1] But a higher spiritual stage can develop without resistance, repentance, and conversion only out of a less developed stage, never out of one quite antagonistic. The mass of the people in Egypt may, it is true, have been sunk deep enough in ignorance, immorality, and idolatry.[2] Even in our own day the roving children of the desert look down with justifiable contempt on the kindred tribes settled in the Nile valley, for the latter generally combine Egyptian luxury with nomadic roughness as soon as they begin to till the ground and cultivate the gentler arts of civilised life. But those who kept alive the better traditions of the people, we must think of as worshipping a national God quite distinct from nature, although, of course, the question as to theoretical monotheism had not yet been raised. We cannot doubt that this God was conceived of as a personal and, in a certain

[1] Ex. iii. 6, iv. 5, v. 9.

[2] In addition to stories like Ex. xxxii., etc., such passages as Ezek. xx. 16 justify us in inferring that the common people whom Moses led were deeply degraded. Amos v. 26 cannot, in my opinion, be so used, since the verse must be taken as a threat to send into exile the idolatrous Israelites of Amos' own age. Schrader (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1874, ii. 324 ff.) translates, by transposing the word צלמיכם, "So ye will take Saccuth (Assyr. שכות), your king, and Chiun, your star-god, your images which ye have made for yourselves, and I will lead you into captivity." Another interpretation is attempted by Hoffmann (*Stade Zeitschrift*, iii. 112), "Did ye then offer sacrifices to me in the wilderness while ye at the same time carried about (Jer. x. 5) Saccuth, your king, and Chiun, your idol, as your own god, made by yourselves?" We should say, "When ye sacrificed to me, did ye carry about idols?" In other words: "In the wilderness ye sacrificed to me alone, now ye give me companions. That is the way of foreigners. Therefore, off with you to a foreign land!" Even this explanation—which, besides, appears to me forced—would not alter the judgment given above.

sense, a spiritual God, and that Israel was regarded as His chosen people. According to the sacred legend, He must have given a special revelation of Himself to the patriarchs. The people determine unanimously and at once to hold a feast in His honour beyond the bounds of the idolatrous land of the foreign oppressor;[1] and even when they fall away from the higher revelation of God, it is still *His image* that they wish to honour and worship.[2] Further, the religious memory of this people must have regarded Canaan as the land of their fathers, the land of promise, the land destined to be their inheritance. It could not have been in the post-Mosaic age that ancient sanctuaries like Shechem, Hebron, Beersheba, and Bethel became places hallowed by patriarchal legend.

Besides, there can be no doubt that legend has given us a faithful account, at least, of the chief moral characteristics of the pre-Mosaic period. The unchanging form of Bedouin life enables us to-day to recognise these figures as true to life, nearly three thousand years after the earliest parts of Genesis were written down. How, then, could the picture of them, a few centuries after their own day, be anything but true. Indeed, Israel was always in a position where it could refresh its recollections of the life which the patriarchs had led, by taking a glance at similar modes of life. The tribes to the east of Jordan always continued to be mainly pastoral peoples.[3] In the time of the Judges, friendly tribes, like the Kenites, lived in tents, as they still do, in the fertile plain of the Kishon;[4] and in the Rechabites we see, at a much later date, the picture of people clinging to a pastoral life with all the fervour of a religious passion.[5] Hence we may, without hesitation, believe in the chief moral features of the legend,

[1] Ex. v. 1 ff.
[2] Ex. xxxii. 4 ff.
[3] Num. xxxii.
[4] Judg. iv. 11, 17 ff.
[5] Jer. xxxv. This was not exactly a species of Nazirite vow, though it was certainly akin to it. It was simple antagonism to city-civilisation and its habits as being destructive of ancient simplicity. Such antagonism is nothing

not as if it gave us a historical account, but because its colours could scarcely but be true to nature. There must have been simple forms of worship and of sacrifice, feasts expressive of popular joy. In Mosaism sacrifice is everywhere presupposed as a matter of course, and the Mosaic feasts are derived from older ones.[1] If an inference from later times is allowable, joy in nature and holidaying of a somewhat sensuous character were probably the main features of these festivals.[2] On the other hand, the redemption of the first-born and many of the Passover rites point to a passionate energy of repentance, and to atonement for sin by shedding of blood, these being the very traits which specially mark all Semitic religions. The chief sacred customs must have already existed in a simple form. These would probably embrace circumcision, abstinence from blood, and a horror of using certain animals as food. For many of the later regulations of this kind cannot be explained except by primitive popular customs. Faithful observance of acknowledged obligations and respect for property ranked as moral duties, especially in the marriage relation, which was looked at from the standpoint of property. With these exceptions, the natural right to have recourse to cunning, deceit, and violence was admitted, and also the right of the male to free sexual enjoyment. The rights of parents and of the head of the clan were absolute. These were the only recognised authorities. Shed blood demanded bloodshed. Later legislation found this avenging of blood an established and sacred national custom, and had to remain content with

uncommon among pastoral peoples. The disinclination to use any other tent but the black tent of the desert, and the contempt with which the Arabs of the peninsula of Sinai regard the art of writing, are examples of the same thing. In fact, Mohammed's prohibition of wine is to no small extent an expression of the views held by these children of the desert.

[1] Ex. v. 1, xxxii.

[2] Judg. xxi. 20 f.; Ex. xxxii. 6, 15 ff. Unless this side of the national life had a closer connection with what Israel found already prevalent in Canaan than with its own tribal reminiscences.

legalising it in the least objectionable forms. Hospitality, cunning, courage, and careful provision for the family, were held in the highest esteem. There was neither priestly mediator nor fixed forms of worship. The head of the family and the national leader represented the people even before God. The simple and certainly somewhat arbitrary forms of worship were the expression of a wish to gratify the Deity with a gift, whether by way of thanks, or in the hope of furthering a petition, or with a view to appease the divine wrath; but above and beyond all this, these sacrifices were due to the habit of celebrating in a religious way every joyous occasion in life. Various objects of superstition, such as the Teraphim, must have been in use, and there must have been a desire to possess some symbolical representation of the national God. The former were still found in the time of David,[1] and actually in the possession of pious servants of Jehovah. The ox-image of the national God in the wilderness, as well as Gideon's, Micah's, and Jeroboam's, warrants the inference that there was an ancient liking for such a representation.[2] Probably, too, the serpent-form of Nehushtan is a remnant of ancient custom.[3] The normal picture of that age must have been something like the above. The actual moral and religious condition of the mass of the people in Egypt must also, of course, have been comparatively low. Sacred tradition was not wrong in cherishing only the memory of the free pastoral life of the patriarchs, and in working up the incidents of these days into pictures of surpassing beauty. Immorality and degradation must have been the chief characteristics of

[1] 1 Sam. xix. 13.

[2] Judg. viii. 27, xvii. 3 ff., xviii. 31; 1 Kings xii. 28 ff. Certainly, in the cases of Micah and Gideon, the precise nature of the image is not mentioned; but the connection of the worship kept up at Dan till the overthrow of the kingdom with the worship in Micah's house, leads to a more than probable conclusion regarding Judg. viii. and xvii.

[3] 2 Kings xviii. 4.

those half-settled nomads, just as they are at the present day characteristic of those tribes on the borders of the Nile valley which are in the process of becoming Fellahîn. Hence the time when Israel lived in tents as a purely pastoral race might well appear ideal.

3. It is with the name of Abraham that all the early memories of Israel associate the origin of the characteristic features of pre-Mosaic religion and morals, that is, the peculiarities that distinguish the Hebrew race from its Semitic brethren. In the old national tradition, as we have it in B and C, this man is a most imposing figure. He has become the beau-ideal of a saint. He separates himself from his family by an act of faith.[1] His whole family relations are based on faith, in contradistinction to nature.[2] He appears as the priestly servant of the God Jehovah.[3] From the first, gracious promises are made to him, and these always become more and more splendid. As the favours increase, so does his faith.[4] Even his son he would be ready to give to God.[5] God appears to him as to a friend, and takes counsel with him as with a confederate. He intercedes for sinners.[6] On his account his son is blessed.[7] In a word, he appears as the great "friend of God" to a degree not attained even by Moses himself. He is the august model, on the one hand, of piety, faith, self-sacrifice, honesty, hospitality, fidelity; and, on the other, of high position, wealth, power, honour, and wonderful prosperity.

Tradition of the Deuteronomic cast represents him as fleeing from his native place, in order to escape from its idolatry. He is thus made the type of the people of the true

[1] Gen. xii. 1 ff.

[2] According to B, Gen. xi. 30, xviii. 11 f. B, C, xv. 2, 3. In B the land of promise is not named as in A; it is "the unknown."

[3] Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 18.

[4] Gen. xii. 2 ff., xiii. 16 ff., xviii. 10 ff., xv. 1 ff.

[5] Gen. xxii.

[6] Gen. xviii., esp. 17 ff., 22 ff., xix.

[7] Gen. xxvi. 5.

God as it escapes from the idolatrous land of Egypt.[1] For his sake God loves Israel, the nation of his descendants.[2] And the honour thus given to Abraham grows steadily greater. In the priestly narrative of A, the patriarch's figure is, it is true, rather indistinct. Indeed the whole patriarchal tradition has for A quite a subordinate significance as compared with "the Law." Abraham's history is represented as connected rather with the political aims of his tribe.[3] But even in A there remains quite enough to show the splendour of this picture. Abraham is the covenant friend of God. He is the first on whom circumcision was enjoined. To him the promise regarding the glory of his nation is communicated. For his sake his kindred are rescued.[4] And the theology of later times is specially fond of Abraham's personality, so that he is not merely the chief subject of profound allegorising on the part of Philo, but even in the New Testament he far surpasses in religious importance the great prophet Moses.[5] Finally, through the Koran, he has attained, even in the opinion of the Arabs, the position of being the most honourable among the men of God, the oldest and greatest of Moslems.

4. These ideas regarding Abraham, developed as they were stage by stage, do not possess the value of historical data. Indeed, we must even leave it undetermined, in the present state of tradition, how far the name of Abraham, and the general sketch of his life, are to be regarded as historical. If Gen xiv. were a really primitive account, the political importance of Abraham would be very clearly established. Still, I cannot convince myself of the certainty of this assump-

[1] Josh. xxiv. 2, 3, and carried further by Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* i. 8. Compare also the further development of the legend, 1 Macc. xii. 21.

[2] Deut. iv. 37, vii. 8, ix. 5.

[3] Gen. xi. 31 f.

[4] Gen. xvii., xix. 29.

[5] Rom. iv.; Gal. iii.; Jas. ii. 21; Heb. xi. 8; Luke iii. 8; John viii. 33.

tion.[1] The fact that Assyrian documents of the age to which Abraham must have belonged give us political circumstances and names which agree well enough with this narrative, cannot justify us in considering it an ancient non-Israelitish source. For the author of Gen. xiv. is, at all events, a believing Israelite, who surrounds the figure of Abraham with such a halo of glory as would be inconceivable in a non-Israelitish source. This figure, which is for him the main object of the story, he might quite easily have set in a frame of stories thoroughly in keeping with the general historical character of those times.[2] The inferences which Josephus[3] draws from a narrative of Berosus, and his statement taken from Nicolaus of Damascus, that Abraham was king of Damascus,[4] are absolutely without historical value. But it may be regarded as certain that the foundation of Israel's moral and religious character was not laid in Egypt, where the nation came into contact with an utterly alien worship, half-naturalistic, half-philosophical. It was brought with them from their free nomad life in Canaan and the neighbouring countries, having been gradually formed there in the small pastoral clan which had migrated from Mesopotamia, and which, at one time mixing with kindred clans, and at another keeping itself distinct, had sojourned for several generations in that country, which was then, probably, less thickly peopled.

How then had this moral and religious distinctiveness originated?

[1] What can be said on that side may be best seen in Ewald, i. 431 ff.; cf. also Baur, i. 140 f., and Sayce, *Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments*. Cf. on the other side, Nöldeke, *Abh.* iii.

[2] On the other hand, a mere glance at this section is sufficient to show any unprejudiced reader that vers. 18–20 are a late insertion, made for the purpose of giving the holy city Jerusalem = Salem, from the earliest days, a sacred character which it has sorely missed. The verses were inserted here because the "king's valley" gave an opportunity for doing so.

[3] *Antiq.* i. 7. 2.

[4] Cf. also Justinus, *Tr. Pomp. H. Ph. Ep.* xxxvi. 2.

According to the late representation in Josh. xxiv. 3, it took its rise in distinct and conscious antagonism to the superstition of his kinsfolk on the part of Abraham, the founder of the nation. According to the legend in Josephus, the lifework of this man sprang out of a definite intention on his part to reform religion. The writers in Genesis know nothing of any such direct antagonism on Abraham's part to his religious surroundings. It is true that among Abraham's kindred it is not only superstition, such as was common even in Israel, that is taken as a matter of course, but the actual worship of "other gods."[1] But in all other respects A, B, and C agree in considering that a monotheistic and ethical religion, not essentially different from the religion of Abraham, was an ancient inheritance of the descendants of Seth and Shem, and flourished in Western Asia.[2] The one thing represented as new in the case of Abraham is the *covenant relationship with God*, together with the promises founded upon it. And long after this, nothing is known in Israel of any direct religious antagonism to the petty tribes of kindred stock.

To get an answer to our question, we must study the history of religions by the aid of the historical method, and thus seek to obtain an estimate of the religion of the Semitic races, and of its relation to the religion of the Hebrews before the time of Moses.

5. Ever since Ernest Renan, in his own clever and brilliant style, asserted that monotheism was a natural instinct of the Semitic peoples, not a superior instinct either which set these peoples above the rest, but one "sui generis" having both excellences and defects of its own,—an assertion which he explains by the further statement that monotheism is really due to a lack of imaginative power and richness of diction, of breadth of conception and freedom of spirit, in fact, to a

[1] B, Gen. xxxv.; C, xxxi. 19, 30, 34 (53 ?).

[2] Gen. v., vi. 9 ff., xiv. 19, xx. 6, xxiv. 31, 50, xxxi. 49.

lack of religious needs, and is therefore, so to speak, "the minimum of religion,—a lively discussion has been going on as to how far the nationality of Israel can account for the origin of Old Testament religion.

Lassen agrees with Renan's proposition. Grau, with the approval of Leo, has taken his assertions as being in the main well founded, and has used them not unskilfully to prove the unique function of the Semites as repositories of revelation; Steinthal, Ewald, Diestel, and Max Müller have, on the other hand, called attention to what is unfounded, or, at any rate, exaggerated, in these views of Renan.[1] "Could the monotheistic instinct of the Semitic race, if it really is an instinct, have been so frequently and so entirely obscured by the polytheistic instinct of the Aryan race, if it, too, is an instinct, that the Jews could worship at the high places round about Jerusalem, and the Greeks and Romans become zealous Christians?" (Max Müller). The mistake in Renan's general verdict regarding the limited capabilities of the Semitic peoples, is due to the very common error of generalising judgments that apply only to particular cases that have come under consideration. The capacity of the so-called Semitic peoples for religion and culture, especially if, contrary to the statement in Gen. x., the Phœnicians are reckoned among them, and if the civilisation of the Euphrates valley is placed to their credit, can no more be estimated by one standard than that of the Aryan races of the same period. The children of the desert, who, since primeval days, have lived in tents from Haran to Hedjaz, bear in this respect no more resemblance to the haughty cultured peoples of Babylon and Tyre, than the ancient Slavs and Germans in their woods and marshes to the Greeks of the age of Pericles or to the Romans under Augustus. To pronounce a general judgment on questions of such extent, is what every prudent man would decline to do.

[1] The book of Röntsch goes too far in denying that any national influence contributed to the rise of the Biblical religion.

Only on one supposition is it possible to concede to Renan's assertions a somewhat greater measure of justification. The name "Semitic" would have to be strictly confined to the small group of nations which, according to Hebrew recollection (Gen. x.), belonged to Israel's kinsfolk in the narrower sense —to the group of warlike shepherd tribes which, issuing, as is clear, from the bosom of the great Arabian peninsula,[1] overran Mesopotamia, Syria, and Canaan, and possessed themselves of part of Egypt. Some of these remained in their original condition as regards culture; others founded military empires on the soil of an older civilisation, and then conformed to the culture of their vassals, in much the same way as the modern world has seen the rise of the Ottoman and Seljuk empire on the soil of Arabic and Persian civilisation. It is thus that we should picture to ourselves the rise of Semitic suzerainty in Chaldea and Nineveh, of Aramaic overlordship in Syria, and the rule of the Hyksos in Egypt. Such, too, was Israel's supremacy in Canaan; and such the supremacy of the kindred peoples, Edom, Moab, and Ammon in the lands east of Jordan. The founders of the special civilisation of Canaan, Babylon, and Egypt would then be peoples of another stamp, called in the Bible Hamites, who, though akin in language and race to the Semites, had gone through quite a different course of life and development, and had got even their national instincts modified by intermixture with peoples of a different race.

Only within such limits is it possible to speak of that peculiarity of the Semitic spirit on which Renan lays so much stress. Better acquaintance with the civilised peoples of Nineveh and Babylon, as well as a proper estimate of the *rôle*

[1] According to Hommel, in a lecture, "Ueber die ursprünglichen Wohnsitze der Semiten," Florence, 13th Sept. 1878 (*Augsb. Allg. Z. Beil.* No. 263, 264, 1878), we should think of their original home as in Mesopotamia, about midway down the Euphrates and the Tigris (A. v. Kremer, *Semitische Culturentlehnungen aus dem Thier- und Pflanzenreich*, Ausland, Bd. xlviii., Jan. 1, 2; as a separate pamphlet, by Cotta, Stuttg. 1875).

which the Phœnicians played in the history of the world, would directly contradict his assertions. We know now that a great many of the Hellenic myths rest on the mythology of these civilised States, especially the whole series of myths connected with Hercules, the victorious Sun-God, with his arrows, his lion's hide, and his gleaming locks,—with the beneficent yet destructive Hero-God, who afterwards acts the part of a woman and a servant, and at last, in order to renew his youth, perishes in the flames. We know that almost all the goddesses of Greece owe their origin to the Asiatic Nature-mother, and that the peculiar religious excitement known as orgiastic frenzy, which has so often smitten European nations also, has its home in those lands where the great mother of the gods and the dying Sun-God were worshipped. We are acquainted with mythical and epic Chaldee songs, like the Flood and the journey of Istar to Hades. We are aware that we have to seek for the cradle of Greek art by the banks of the Euphrates, just as even in Homer "the men of Sidon," as artists and as dealers in works of art from the cities on the Euphrates, are looked upon by the Greeks as models whom they cannot hope to rival. And when I point out that the constitution of Carthage was the most satisfactory embodiment of political genius which Aristotle in his day could discover, and that a people which produced a family like the family of Barcas can hardly have been lacking in political and military talent, enough has been said to prove that the view of Renan, in the general form in which he states it, is absolutely untenable.

6. But if we leave these civilised peoples out of account, and regard the gifts of genius which led them as nations to a richer mythology and art, and to higher political organisation, as due to national elements of a different kind by the combination of which the peculiar characteristics of the "Hamitic" nations might be explained, then there certainly remains an

element of truth to which Renan has called attention. And this we ought not to overlook. For while the religion of Israel is, on the one hand, according to Hitzig's beautiful simile, like the pearl which grows by the pain and death of the oyster, that is, has been brought into being through a history of suffering and chastisement; on the other hand, it cannot but have had an intimate connection with the peculiar gifts of this people, and with the religious background of the family of nations to which it belonged.

What, then, was the character of this religious background? To this question we may first of all give with confidence this negative reply. It was not monotheism, and least of all a spiritual monotheism. In proof of this we do not appeal to the religion of Nineveh and Chaldea, the sources of which have now been laid open to our inspection, nor to the essentially similar religion of the Phœnicians and the Canaanites. That these religions were full of nature-myths, that they were in possession of an artistically constructed system of gods and goddesses, whose forms are closely bound up with the great events of life in nature, especially with the mysteries of birth and death, as well as with the wonderful and yet regular course of the planets—of all this there cannot be a doubt. But even the elemental nature-religion of the Semitic pastoral peoples cannot have been monotheistic. The Semitic conquerors of Chaldea and Nineveh found themselves quite at home among the "Accadian" myths and the deities of the Chaldean priests; and their own religious language supplied them with names for the many gods of that different civilisation.

However much the idolatry of the ancient Arabs varied with the separate districts and tribes, so that there was perhaps only in Hedjaz and Yemen a regular system of gods, nevertheless they always presupposed a plurality of gods and goddesses in which the Greeks believed that

they could at once recognise their own divinities.[1] In Edom, Moab, and Ammon we do not, it is true, know of a plurality of gods,—at least there is some doubt about it,—but we are all the more certain that these peoples were not themselves conscious of being different from the nature-worshipping peoples round about them, nor were they regarded by the Israelites as different.

7. It is much more difficult to give a positive answer to the question as to the essence of Semitic elemental worship. Practically it can be worked out only from the language of these peoples, and from the effects of their common religion upon the development of the religious life in the different tribes.

The names for God among the Semites show us that for them the original object was not how to obtain a religious conception of the various developments of life in nature, but how to express their own subjection to the irresistible force revealed in nature. The oldest name of God, El (Bab-ilu), and then Baal, Bel, Adonai, Moloch, Milcom, Annammelech, Melk-Qarth, Adrammelech, and certainly also Assur, Kemosch, Allah, Kijun, Aziz, all express this one aim. Now, as the peculiar genius of the Semitic languages generally makes it difficult to separate the noun from its verbal root, we certainly have here a strong barrier against the development of myth proper, against the individualising of the gods, that is, against polytheism properly so called, while at the same time the strongly personal conception of the idea of God rendered the transition to pantheism difficult. The unity of God was not an article of faith. But the plurality of divine forces, being thought of as a matter of course, excited little interest. The God to whom prayer was addressed, or who was regarded as specially interested in the particular people, exercised quite

[1] Herod. i. 131, iii. 8; Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* vii. 20; and also Origen, *Contra Celsum*, v. § 37; Philostorg. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 4. Cf. in general the writings of Osiander and Krehl, mentioned above, and the more recent works of Wellhausen (*Wesen des arabischen Heidenthums*) and Robertson Smith (*Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*).

an exceptional influence over the religious life. Hence it can be said, at all events, in a certain sense that here the stage of polytheism had not yet been reached.

With this is connected what is generally called the "particularist" idea of God, viz. the paying of almost exclusive attention to the god whom the particular tribe claims as its own, either along with or in opposition to the other gods. That is not, it is true, an exclusively Semitic trait, but it is found wherever there is strong tribal feeling. All really polytheistic systems have arisen mainly through several tribes, with their respective gods, having been combined into a single nation. But here this characteristic is decidedly stronger than among the Aryans, probably because the Semites paid less attention to the various phenomena of nature than to the sovereign power of the god to whom the service of the favoured people was due. The Baal of the Canaanites and the Phœnicians, the Assur of Assyria, the Bel of Babylon, the Chemosch of Moab, as the inscription on the Mesha stone proves, the Milcom of Ammon, and the Aziz of the Syrians, had a very different influence over their respective peoples than the Zeus of Olympia or the Mars of Rome.

This "uniformity" of religious life was favoured, not only by the language, but also by nature and by the national development of these peoples. The pastoral tribes of the desert did not find in nature a bright and varied life, but only the august and uniform omnipotence that kills as well as vivifies, the light which is at the same time a consuming heat. Hence, with all their power of imagination, there was really a want of variety in their conceptions. And they lacked a rich and harmoniously developed social and political life. They devoted their mental energies with resolute persistency to a few subjects. Human life, when spent amid quiet monotonous surroundings, affords but little scope for the exhilaration of joy, and for the consciousness of freedom;

it rather tends to foster a spirit of submission and resignation. Not as if the children of the desert were pious in the proper sense. Indifference is often the result of resignation. But if the religious sense be awakened, then in such circumstances it delights to manifest itself in entire self-surrender. From the very poverty of the life it gains in fervour and passion, and may thus turn out to be the one element which, not being weakened by distracting feelings, holds sovereign sway over the soul.

Of such a soul the natural product is, on the one hand, prophecy, and on the other, wild religious enthusiasm, with its fanatical devotion to God, its sacrifices of children, its self-mutilations, and its tribute of maidens. Moreover, since every higher development of political and social life is absent, the ethical element in religion must likewise be lacking. The impression of mere might, or the patriarchal frame of mind, is the last and highest. The fundamental element in piety is fear of God, from the very lowest meaning of the term up to the timid reverence, mingled with love, which a child feels for its Father and Lord. But the nation's weal, its victories, and honours are thought of as inseparably bound up with its God. And in this union of God with the nation, as well as in the emphasising of His might, lies the impulse to set Him apart from nature as her Lord and Creator. The myths of creation were born on Semitic soil.

Owing to its peculiar characteristics, this religion had no strong tendency to image-worship or to priestly mediation. In Canaan, as in Arabia, the symbols of the divine presence were sacred stones and trees. There were no statues of the gods. There were, at the most, symbolical figures in which the strength and the wisdom of the godhead were worshipped. There were no priesthoods; the father of the household, or the head of the clan, was also the priest, and performed the simple sacrifices with their sacred rites. And while the statue of a

god in human form is a great help to the making of myths, and to the more artistic forms of polytheism, no impulse in this direction is given by the symbol of deity, whether it be taken directly from nature, or produced by fancy, or be the expression of an allegorical thought—as was, for example, the figure of an ox. The reason is the lack of *individuality*. And while in every nature-religion the priesthood is driven onwards to a pantheistic spiritualising of their religion, which is then revealed exoterically as an artistically-constructed polytheism, wherever the worship is retained in the hands of the father or the head of the clan, people fight shy of every attempt at a theological, or even theoretical, development of their religion. But in any such religion popular customs, if once they get connected with the worship of the gods, are kept up with all the greater persistency; and it is just the pastoral life which, under all circumstances, causes such customs to strike their roots particularly deep.

8. This must have been the character of Semitic religion among the tribes which did not, like the kindred tribes that first emigrated from the country in which the race was cradled, coalesce with the nationality and the civilisation of alien peoples, but which, as pastoral peoples, preserved the simplicity and the memories of their ancient home. Into this category we must put the religion of the Terachitic branch, which still included Aramæans, Hebrews, Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and a number of Arabian tribes. This would certainly not be directly decisive as to the origin of the religion of Israel, were one to assume, according to a view recently in favour with Assyriologists, that these tribes, during their stay in Chaldea, were deeply influenced by the culture and religion of the Babylonian empire. In that case it would have to be admitted that a fully-formed polytheism of a sensuous character, already knit together by astronomy and resting on a naturalistic pantheism, that a rich web of

myths full of deep meaning, a worship, the real centre of which was the homage paid to the female side of nature, had been appropriated by the Hebrews even prior to the rise of their own religion, or had at least exerted an influence upon them. This view is supported, not merely by the numerous elements which the Old Testament has in common with the Assyrio-Babylonian mythology, but also by the theory brought into favour by recent excavations that Ur of the Chaldees is the Uru (Mugheir) south of Babylon. This I cannot but consider a misleading plausibility. In Genesis, Ur of the Chaldees has manifestly so close a connection with Paddan-Aram and with Haran,[1] that it is impossible to think of a country at such a vast distance from these districts as Southern Babylonia. And nowhere else in the early memories of Israel is there anything that points to a home so far south. The Aramæan country, that is, the course of the upper Euphrates, is represented as the fatherland of Israel. And certainly the later culture of Israel, like that of all the nations in Western Asia, depends to a large extent upon Babylon, *e.g.* its chronology, coinage, and measures. The myths with which our Old Testament begins are, as every unprejudiced reader sees, closely akin to the stories of the Izdubar epic, which the library of Assurbanipal has preserved as an old Chaldee treasure.

Above all, the Biblical tradition of the Flood is beyond a doubt closely connected with the Chaldee tradition. And the later history of Israel shows us that the worship of the Queen of Heaven was a worship taken up by the people with special zest.[2] Still that does not prove that Israel sprang from Southern Babylon. Babylon's contribution to their civilisation may quite well have been made through the medium of the Phœnicians and the other Canaanites, and been assimi-

[1] Gen. xi. 28, 31, xxii. 20 ff., xxiv. 10, xxviii. 2, xii. 1; אֶרֶץ מוֹלַדְתְּ, cf. xxiv. 4.

[2] *E.g.* Jer. xliv. 17 ff.

lated by Israel in much later times, when the whole national life was growing more refined. At that time, during the days of the kings, both philosophical and theological materials akin to the Babylonian may have found their way into Israel. Besides, we do not know how much of this belonged to the old Semitic stock of ideas which the Semites brought with them to Babylon and Nineveh. Nor do any of the Terachitic tribes, whether Arabian or Edomite, whether Moabite, Ammonite, or Israelite, show us exactly the characteristic features of the religious life of the Chaldeans. If the worship of the great Nature-goddess and all its orgiastic rites, or the Sakæan feast had actually belonged to the national religion of Israel, we should be deprived of all means of understanding how, in such a soil, a pure religion could ever have developed without violent convulsions. The true explanation will rather be this, that while some Semitic tribes adopted the civilisation of the Euphrates valley, those which kept true to the simplicity of their ancestors in morals and religion, viz. the Aramæan and the Hebrew, withdrew from Mesopotamia, where they must have formed part of one huge empire, to the vast deserts and steppes on the north and west, whence they afterwards sallied out in various directions in quest of their destined homes. Such must have been the migration of Terach-Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees, and from Haran to Canaan, to a certain extent an actual flight from his idolatrous kinsfolk; more strictly, however, it was for the pure-born Semites a tearing of themselves away from an alien civilisation and religion eager to absorb them as it had absorbed their brethren. That a pastoral people like the Hebrews could, while living in Egyptian bondage and in circumstances of primitive simplicity, as regards culture, have retained in their memories for centuries the wisdom of the Chaldeans, is an idea that bids defiance to all historical probability.

9. Hence the religion out of which the pre-Mosaic religion

of Israel sprang, and with which it was essentially one, must have been that simple religion of the Semites which has been already described. For since the Old Testament represents Abraham as *the tribal father* of Ishmael and Edom, as well as of other Arabian tribes, and regards Ammon and Moab as descended from a man of the same culture and religion, the common religion of these tribes must have been not only one and the same, but also such as would explain the religion of the Hebrews, as well as that of those other tribes. Consequently, the name Abraham does not solve this historical question. For, if he be thought of personally as the founder of a pure revealed religion, it must have belonged quite as much to all those tribes as to Israel. In the name Abraham there is quite a number of peoples included which, however, have absolutely nothing to do with the true religion.

The way in which this Hebrew religion could grow into that which is presupposed in the Old Testament, can be pointed out without difficulty. As soon as there arose a fuller and deeper reverence for the tribal God, that God must practically have become the one God, that is, the God to whom alone trust, reverence, and adoration were due, and before whom the other gods, without having their existence explicitly denied, shrivelled up into mere subordinates, or into powers hostile, but helpless. When the people found themselves face to face with kindred tribes among which the old common religion was conjoined in Hamite fashion with sensual licence and with wild excitement, and connected with a female divinity, the self-consciousness of Israel must have perceived the great superiority which the simplicity of their own religion and morals had over such developments as these. Naturally, therefore, they would endeavour to make that distinction greater and greater. And when a still higher moral development of the people took place, then, on the basis of His terrible power and His consuming holiness and glory, this God must have been at once apprehended as the personifica-

tion of Justice, Goodness, and Truth. The people must, as His people, at once acknowledge themselves to be a people pledged to moral order and moral aims. The sacred symbols of nature-worship could either be appropriated by the higher religion, or dissolved and volatilised into heroic legends. A multitude of superstitious customs, which originally belonged to nature-worship, could be quite frankly retained by the higher religion, just as they have quietly accompanied Christianity also through all its stages of development up to the present day. If the thing happened in this way, then it is a quite superfluous and misleading question to ask if the God of Israel sprang from Moloch or Saturn. He is simply the great God of the Semites, the Lord who from being a Divinity at first scarcely apprehended as ethical, His nature not excluding polytheism, became a moral and spiritual God, who stands above nature, and excludes—at least such is the trend of the religion—every other god.

In this way the thing might have come about. But, of course, that it did so come about is not made certain by possibilities such as these. It could, indeed, so happen only if this people had the inward force of character not to lose its own characteristics, but, when fighting for existence, to steel itself and make these characteristics stand out more sharply than ever, and if there were given to it men of a true prophetic type, quick to apprehend any self-revealing act of the God who guides the world towards His own ends. Else why did not a higher religion arise in Edom or in Arabia out of similar national elements there, and based on similar religious foundations? Nay, why did the religion of all these tribes disappear, without leaving a trace behind, in the waves of the great religion of civilised Asia, and later of Greece? The possibility of a historically intelligible transition from the religion of the Semites to that of Israel is only one side of the answer to the question as to how the Hebrew religion arose. The other side of the answer must always be given

by faith. This people had prophets, and experienced a revelation of God to itself, of that God who willed that His greatest gift to man, the religion of redemption and reconciliation, should be revealed upon this soil. The power of religious instinct, the prophetic susceptibility to impressions of the true life of God, must have been awakened here in a way that can only be explained, like all the other mysteries of endowment, by the inscrutable omnipotence of the living spirit of God at work in nature. Through the mysterious power and goodness of God, who bestows the Spirit on whom He will, and assigns alike to men and nations the part they have to play on this earthly stage, there arose in the leading men of Israel a higher consciousness of God.

While the world was always getting more deeply entangled in polytheism, and the majority even of the Semitic peoples were unable to resist the influence of a mysterious priestly religion which charmed the senses and the imagination, but was morally impotent, here the God of the patriarchs became a holy personal God, who set before this tribe an eternal goal, and gave to it moral ordinances which it dared not break. Certainly this higher conception had not yet become a living power in the masses of the people Moses had to deal with. But in its leaders and in its ruling families, the instinct for such a higher religion must have been alive like a spark which the breath of God could, through Moses, fan into a flame.

Hence we cannot, in point of fact, picture to ourselves the rise of the Hebrew religion in any other way than Hebrew legend does, when it represents Abraham as entering into a covenant with the great God of his fathers who appears unto him,—a covenant the seal of which is circumcision, and the attendant blessing, the promise of the land of Canaan; or when, in its richer form, it represents Abraham as being called out of the country of his birth into an unnamed land, and tells how trial upon trial, revelation upon revelation, and

promise upon promise fell to his lot till he passed away, honoured of God and man. The religion of Israel undoubtedly grew up on the natural soil of the religion of the Semites. But its full growth is only to be understood as due to the equipment, through God's creative power, of human spirits, and to the revelation of the divine life in the hearts of individual prophets.

10. Still we must beware of thinking that the distance between the Hebrew religion and the religion common to the Semites, and especially to Abraham's descendants in the wider sense, was very great, and quite discernible by external signs. It is certain that the one great God was not yet worshipped in the sense that the existence of other gods was altogether denied, or even the worship of them totally forbidden everywhere. That cannot be thought of as being brought about otherwise than gradually. Still less was this God conceived of as spiritual in the sense that all natural symbols or images were forbidden. That was not the case even long after Moses' day. The yearning desire to have the Deity near to one in sacred memorial stones, underneath trees, on mountains, or in the form of household gods (Terafim), or as strength in the image of an ox, was assuredly expressed quite freely and frankly, as was also the case in Israel at a much later stage in its history. The main element in the conception of God must have been His consuming holiness and His absolute power. We have to think of the worship practised by the fathers of families and the heads of the people as without a fixed form or ritual. The ancient customs of the people, especially in reference to food and family life, as well as the main principles of social morality, must have been closely connected with religion, and, in particular, with the holiness of God. Circumcision, as the consecration to God of the organ of generation, was already common in the pre-Mosaic age as a custom in which a natural and a higher consecration met. The Semitic nature-feasts

were also celebrated by this people. The old mythical world, with its myth-coloured legends, never had its life disturbed with any theoretical interest in religion, much less with any theological difficulties. Hence we must picture to ourselves a religion pretty closely resembling in its manifestations the other old Semitic religions of the kindred tribes, and in no way consciously recognised or apprehended as in antagonism to these, but, nevertheless, in its deepest essence, and when looked at in connection with the tendencies that conditioned its development, and determined the history of this people, very different from those simple nature-religions. Thus we find in the Hebrew nation the soil in which a creative act of God in history could lay a firm foundation for a history of the true religion, the complete form of which appeared in the divine life revealed to man in Christ.

11. By this view of the origin of the Hebrew religion, and by it alone, can all the Old Testament phenomena be explained which some [1] have regarded as proving the purely naturalistic and polytheistic character of this religion, and which others have attempted to ignore in the supposed interests of revealed religion. In saying this, I am not thinking merely of the fact that in the Old Testament, though only in very late parts of it, mention is made of the idolatry of the Israelites in Egypt, and of Abraham's kinsfolk in Chaldea. In both cases this is certainly in accordance with historical truth.[2] But the latter circumstance would be of importance only for the religion of the ancient Semites, not for the religion of the Hebrews in particular. The former we should have to assume even without definite information, if we take into consideration the moral surroundings of a horde of nomads settled in Egypt, and bear in mind how difficult it was for the people even in much later times, when in the

[1] Daumer, Ghillany.

[2] Josh. xxiv. 2, 14, 23; Ezek. xx. 8, 16, xxiii. 3 (cf. xvi.).

midst of nations that had lapsed into regular nature-worship, to remain content with the unattractive simplicity of a spiritual religion.

But I attach much greater importance to the fact that not a few genuine fragments of myth can be pointed out in the Old Testament. No doubt the kind of exposition which simply denies this, and turns such mythical narratives into actual human history, can easily get over this difficulty even without this hypothesis of ours. But any one who takes up Genesis as an honest-minded historian accustomed to investigate the early history of other peoples, will disdain such an expedient, and will readily acknowledge that here he has to deal with reminiscences of primitive Semitic mythology. In fact, he will admit that much later still, in the course of the Mosaic period, mythical elements from other groups of nations, especially from Chaldea and Phœnicia, got mixed up with popular Hebrew legend. In not a few passages it is, of course, hard to say which of the two cases we should suppose it to have been.

The primeval family-registers of the antediluvian period are neither history nor legend, but have a mythical character. In the present state of comparative philology, it is true, superficial comparison of words like Tubal-Qaïn-Vulcan, Jubal-Apollo, Noah-Jacchus, is already out of date. But the origin of such names, connected with the great inventions to which civilisation owes its rise, and clearly taken by their symbolical attributes out of the circle of purely historical personages, can be explained by no one acquainted with the history of the most ancient national legends otherwise than by assuming that figures originally mythical have become human.[1] Euhemerism is very old, and comes into existence of itself wherever mythical ideas lose their hold of the national consciousness, and cease to be significant. It is certainly too rash to attach to these names, without further

[1] Cf. Welcker, p. 46 ff.

inquiry, a system of divine dynasties.[1] But Enoch with his three hundred and sixty-five years, and Lamech with his two wives, are certainly mythical figures easily recognisable. The relationship between Gen. iv. and v. is enough to show that these two genealogies are based on the same non-historical tradition. Cain and Tubal-Cain suggest by their very names the attributes assigned them. Far later still, *e.g.*, the name Gad, if the proof-passage, Gen. xxx. 11, be compared with other Old Testament passages,[2] is seen to be a reminiscence unmistakably mythical. The mention of Obed-Edom, 2 Sam. vi. 10, 12, proves that the name Edom also belongs to mythology. And the daughter of Jephthah, whose virgin death the women of Gilead celebrate every year by a four days' funeral festival, is assuredly no ordinary maid, however touchingly her history is interwoven with the tradition about that wild knight-errant her father (Judg. xi. 39, 40). In like manner, the lion-slaying hero who arms himself with rocks and overturns temples, and whose strength vanishes with his hair, is originally, you may be sure, no Hebrew Nazirite, but the Sun-god (שִׁמְשׁוֹן), whose locks are the rays of light in which lies the secret of his strength (Judg. xiii. ff.).

Further, the short story in Gen. vi. 1–3 has a thoroughly mythical background. Here we have beyond all question a story of superhuman beings marrying earth-born wives. Repeated attempts have been made, it is true, to restrict the meaning of this passage to marriages between men belonging to the pious race of the Sethites and women belonging to the race of Cain, in other words, to purely human transgression which overstepped the utmost limits of impiety permissible on earth, in consequence of which

[1] So Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 373 ff. Henoch—the god of the new year; Lamech—demi-god, warlike vengeance; Methuselah—Mars; Mahalal-el—sun-god; Jered—water-god;—the first dynasty. Noah—the idea of a better world; Dionysus; Jubal—music, Brahmana; Tubal—warrior; Naamah, Aphrodite, etc.

[2] B. J. lxv. 11; Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7 (Baal-gad).

the Flood became a necessity. We take no account here of what every scientific critic of Genesis must acknowledge to be a fact, viz. that this little story knows nothing whatever of Cain and Seth or of their descendants, and stands where it now does, simply because there was no room for it between Gen. ii. 4*b* and the end of chap. iv. But even in its present position the passage cannot possibly have any such meaning. The collective word הָאָדָם, whenever it is not more precisely defined, can be understood only of the human race as such.[1] Accordingly, when it is said that "men began to multiply, and daughters were born unto them," such words, in a passage where neither moral nor genealogical distinctions are mentioned, can only mean that *daughters of the human race* were born. The "daughters of men" are therefore daughters neither of Cain, nor of Seth, nor of the poor among the people, but simply maidens in general. Besides, if any one class were to be described by the word הָאָדָם, it would certainly be the poor, the common people as contrasted with the nobles, "the lords,"[2] and therefore not the race of Cain, among whom was to be found, according to Gen. iv. 17 ff., every kind of power, art, and violence.

But it is equally impossible for the "sons of God" (בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים) to be *men.* Where men are called "sons of God," they get the name only as being "adopted" children of grace, in other words, in consequence of their being in a state of salvation. Such is Israel as a nation, and such the king

[1] The reference of Oehler to Jer. xxxii. 20, B. J. xliii. 4, Ps. lxxiii. 5, is quite irrelevant. No doubt Israel, although itself a nation and a member of the human race, may be contrasted as God's people with nations and men in the ordinary sense, and so expressions like "Adam," "Enosh," can be used where "ordinary men" are meant (Judg. xvi. 7, 17). But, in that case, there must be some contrast clearly indicated inside the circle of humanity. On the other hand, where the contrast is between "Adam" and "Elohim," "Adam" always means the human race as such.

[2] Cf. Ps. xlix. 3 contrasted with אִישׁ. Consequently the trivial explanation of the early Jews, which refers to lawless unions of the nobles with women of humble birth, is, at least from the standpoint of strict exegesis, less indefensible.

in Israel. But if that were intended here, then in the Jehovistic context the name of the God of salvation (יהוה) must certainly have been used, and the expression "sons of God" might well be, in that sense, an honourable epithet, but not a name for a class of men as such. On the other hand, "sons of God" is a well-known expression in the Old Testament for mighty celestial beings that partake of the dignity of the divine nature, and are superior to the flesh and its weaknesses.[1]

And even if the expression as it stands could mean "men of God," how is it known that the Sethites were godly and the Cainites wicked? Of Enoch, a descendant of Seth, we are told that he was righteous, but his case is as exceptional as Noah's. Who says that Enoch the son of Cain was not pious also, or that Lamech the Sethite was not quite as impious as Lamech the Cainite? The fact is, we have simply two fragments of one original tradition, of which different authors have given different versions. Besides, it is stated that these "sons of God" took them wives of whom they chose, that is, without any one being able to hinder them. They must therefore have been the stronger. But how does that agree with the sword-song of Lamech the Cainite, and with the general idea as to the warlike supremacy of Cain's race? Finally, the author, at least the one we now have, certainly intended to connect these marriages with the primitive tradition about races of giants. Hence we are forced to the conclusion that the oldest interpretation of this passage is also the best.[2] This story has an undeniable resemblance

[1] Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7; Ps. xxix. 1, lxxxix. 7.

[2] Little noticed as long as a sound religious life sought in revelation, not for something to satisfy mere religious curiosity, but for inward life, this passage is one of those most frequently used in post-canonical times; it is interpreted spiritually by the Alexandrines, and is in Enoch the *locus classicus* for demonology; cf. Book of Enoch, translated by Dillmann, chap. vi. ff.; Jude vers. 5, 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4).—Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.*, ed. Dindorf, i. 218; cf. also The Book of Jubilees (Ewald, *Jahrb. für bibl. Wiss.* 1849, ii. 242) and The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (Fabric. *Cod. ps. Epig.* p. 529).

to the heathen idea of demi-gods, sons of the gods by human wives. And if any one is determined to see in this story "a fact," then for such an one the oldest history of the religion of mankind must remain a sealed book. It must be taken as a real myth of remote antiquity.

Gen. xxxii. 24–32 appears to me to be a similar fragment. With Jacob there wrestles a man who has to vanish at daybreak. Being superhuman, he does not give his name, but he inflicts on Jacob bodily injury. If the records of Sanchuniathon are not utterly untrustworthy,[1] we have here also a myth common to several Semitic peoples, woven into Hebrew legend. On similar instances I shall not touch further.[2] I have already spoken of the Chaldean myths of the Creation and the Flood being woven into the early chapters of Genesis, and I may just mention Ex. iv. 24 ff., where a second account is given of the origin of circumcision, very remarkable for its sensuous colouring.[3]

These mythical constituents in Hebrew religious legend would be absolutely unintelligible, had not the religion of Israel grown up on the soil of a popular nature-religion, and been for long ages freely exposed to its influences. But, on the other hand, if this religion had not cut itself loose from the Semitic before the latter really became a religion of civilised life, like the Chaldean or the Phœnician, it would be impossible to understand how this mythical inheritance should have been so completely mastered by the fundamental thoughts of the higher religion, and been kept within such narrow limits. If the real trend of the Hebrew religion had not been from the first towards what was actually

[1] Euseb. *Praepar. Evang.* i. 37 ff., cf. Ewald's essay, *Ueber die phönikischen Ansichten von der Weltschöpfung und den geschichtlichen Werth Sanchuniathons*, 1851.

[2] Esau, Οὔσωος, the sacrifice of Jehud by his father Kronos, etc., in Sanchuniathon. From the nature of the authority, however, this is quite uncertain.

[3] With all the rest of the narrative according to which Moses is acting even here simply on the command of God, this story is absolutely irreconcilable, and in its present form it is obviously mutilated and weakened.

attained in the Old Testament religion, such a mastery over the elements of nature-worship would have been inconceivable, or rather, according to all historical analogies, the exact opposite would have happened. For even where the mythical elements in the Old Testament have not become the medium of purely religious thoughts, they are completely stripped of their original character and brought into harmony with an increasingly spiritual monotheism. That could hardly have happened, had they existed in connection with a cultured polytheistic religion theoretically worked out. In the names contained in the old genealogical tables, none but a skilled antiquarian could discover the remains of myth; for the people, they had nothing of a mythological character. The sons of God in Gen. vi. are not gods on a level with the One God, but mighty beings subordinate to Him, on account of whose unnatural doings the sentence of death is pronounced upon mankind. Heathen legend, on the contrary, sees in such ideas the zenith of human glory. He who wrestles with Jacob is changed from a being possessed of divine power into a manifestation of God Himself,[1] and the narrative makes no greater a demand on faith than any of the innumerable legends that have continued current in Christendom. And in the virgins and the heroes of the book of Judges, no Hebrew could recognise the fading figures of Semitic gods.

Just as the fragments of myths in the Old Testament, by their existence and the manner in which they have been preserved, confirm our theory of the origin of the Hebrew religion, so also do the remains of those religious customs in Israel, which are incompatible with the higher stage subsequently reached by the religion of the Old Testament. The

[1] Hos. xii. 4, 5 makes "the angel" exactly parallel with Elohim. One must therefore think of a manifested form of God. Here the narrative is still more drastic. The weeping and the supplication refer to the vanquished Elohim, not to Jacob. That the story is obscure and ambiguous, is quite in keeping with its originally mythical character.

mention of teraphim, and of rings and amulets used for purposes of superstition by the reinforcements that came to the Hebrew people out of Mesopotamia,[1] would not, it is true according to our narratives, prove any such thing, for they teach that these impure elements were rejected. But that this was only the later view, is shown by the open use of such idols up to the time of David.[2] Before Moses, they were doubtless in universal use among the people. The word "teraphim," in the plural, does not always indicate a real plural, but is used like other similar words for might, Godhead, lordship, even where there was only one image.[3] Still, the original use of the word probably points to plurality.[4] The teraphim were certainly used for obtaining oracles, and that, too, among non-Hebrew peoples as well. They were also employed by Chaldean soothsayers.[5] Later times rejected them as distinctly idolatrous.[6] Whether the name itself is meant to denote the god who gives the oracle is hard to determine, but it is not unlikely. The teraphim were clearly household gods, of human form, so that Michal could, by putting the teraphim in David's bed, deceive the spies.[7] The fact that Rachel was able to hide them under a camel-basket does not militate against their having been of considerable size, for such baskets can hold a full-grown man.[8] But when a person like David had teraphim in his house, it is quite obvious that they did not preclude monotheism, or even spiritual personal monotheism. They had simply been taken over by a higher stage of religion from an earlier, when the people were nature-

[1] Gen. xxxi. 19 ff., xxxv. 2, 4.
[2] Judg. xviii. 5, 14; 1 Sam. xix. 13.
[3] 1 Sam. xix. 13.
[4] Gen. xxxi. 34.
[5] Perhaps already in Gen. xxx. 27 (נחשׁ); Judg. xviii. 5, 14; Ezek. xxi. 26; Hos. iii. 4. In fact, according to Gen. xxxi., xxxv., the caravans from Mesopotamia must have brought the teraphim with them.
[6] 1 Sam. xv. 23; Zech. x. 2.
[7] 1 Sam. xix. 13. Perhaps, however, the mask thrown over their faces was part of the apparatus.
[8] Gen. xxxi. 34; cf. Burkhardt, *Sitten der Bedawin*, pp. 28, 30. For a curious view that the teraphim were nodding puppets, cf. Chwolson, ii. 153.

worshippers. Accordingly, in this later stage the one Supreme God was thought of as acting through these images by special manifestations and for special purposes. They were household "Palladia."[1] Symbolical representation of the acting, self-revealing God of providence, especially when connected with primitive national customs, may remain for centuries alongside of a higher religion. But it could originate only in a non-monotheistic religion. Consequently, it is beyond doubt a relic of an old Semitic custom that had got deeply rooted in the national customs of the Hebrews.

The same holds good of the sacred trees and stones which were held to indicate in a special manner the presence of the Deity. According to the sacred legend, the Israelitish patriarchs set up stones, anointed them with oil, and consecrated them as "Beth-El."[2] Sacred stones of a special form are found in Arabia as well as among the Phœnicians;[3] and even the Greek name for such stones, *βαιτύλια*, shows the affinity of the ideas. In like manner, the terebinths of Hebron and Bethel, and the palm-tree of Deborah, play a part in ancient legend which reminds one of the "groves" of the Canaanites and the sacred trees of Arabia. Here, too, we find the very same relationship. This custom had its roots in Semitic nature-worship, the characteristic of which was to connect the presence of God with prominent objects in nature, especially with trees, which are, in a sunny land, her fairest decoration. The custom held its ground in Israel even when there was no longer any real foundation for it. Among the

[1] Gen. xxxi. 19, 30.

[2] Gen. xxxv. 14, 15; cf. xxviii. 18, xxxi. 13. Chap. xxxi. 45 f. has reference only to the memorial of a covenant. In general the *votive* character comes out quite plainly. The sacred circle of stones set up as the first sanctuary of Israel west of the Jordan in Gilgal, was meant to be of a similar character, Josh. iv. 20. The sacred stone at Bethel is still, for the narrator B, a highly venerated sanctuary, around which popular tradition clings.

[3] Among the Arabians the Kaaba stone is the best known; for the worship of stones and trees among the Arabians, cf. Wellhausen; the Carthaginians, cf. Münter, p. 72 ff.; the Greeks, cf. Schömann, ii. 171 ff. On the general question, cf. Ewald, *Alterthümer*, 153 f., 158 f., and *Gesch.* i. 492.

other kindred peoples, owing to their stronger devotion to nature-worship, it attained a fuller and more varied development. We explain in a similar way the sacred character ascribed by the Israelites to Mount Sinai and Bashan, as well as the custom of erecting, on artificial mounds (בָּמוֹת) originally consecrated to the reproductive power of nature, the simple altars used in the most ancient worship, unless, indeed, this custom was altogether foreign to Israel, and only borrowed, after the settlement in Canaan, from its Hamite inhabitants. All this shows that the religion of Israel presupposes a Semitic nature-religion, but, at the same time, that it was not long in beginning to move away from the latter in the direction of spiritual monotheism.

Finally, we are confirmed in this view by the form of the Hebrew name for God, Elohim. That our present historians cannot put this name into the mouths of the patriarchs, under the idea that they were worshippers of several gods, is self-evident. When, therefore, the plural of the verb is found with Elohim in B and C, not to speak of A, the supposition is quite justifiable that in such passages there is either no reference at all to the God of Israel, or that special circumstances are being taken into account. Thus in Gen. i. 26, xi. 7, it is the plural of self-address. Others less happily think it an address to the assembled Elohim. In Gen. iii. 22, God contrasts Himself and the whole order of Elohim, *i.e.* of incorporeal, spiritual powers, with man as formed of flesh. In Gen. xxviii. 12, by the Elohim, to whose appearance reference is made in Gen. xxxv. 7, we are to understand the whole array of heaven's inhabitants, not the personal God alone. Only in xx. 13 does the narrator C make Abraham in conversation with a heathen speak of "the Gods," as it was the popular custom to do afterwards,[1] and much in the same way as the Latin Dii was used.

[1] So Judg. ix. 13. Ewald, *Geschichte*, i. 458 f., cleverly points out that the plural form of Elohim joined with the singular of the verb proves that there

In our present documents the word Elohim itself is certainly used as a singular; it is applied even to a single heathen god.[1] In fact, in its later stages, the language was fond of giving words signifying might a "plural of majesty," or "plural of power and fulness," which certainly does not militate against the unity of the subject.[2] Still this whole mode of speaking could scarcely have arisen had not the religious vocabulary of Israel rested on popular ideas, which, beyond a doubt, frankly presupposed a plurality of Divine beings, and had not the idea of the unity of God been first limited to the unity of the national God, before whom the other Elohim shrivelled up into a body of subordinate beings, who, though standing high above mortal men as Elohim and Bne-Elohim, were in no sense comparable to the One God. Thus all the traces of the old Semitic religion in the Old Testament go to confirm our theory as to the origin of the religion of Israel.

The view just explained is not essentially different from that advocated by Land, although I cannot but regard many of this scholar's assertions as wrong, or, at any rate, as incapable of proof. According to him, the old Israelitish religion regarded Sinai as an ancient sanctuary, and this sanctuary the kindred peoples—Ishmael, Midian, and Edom, likewise divided into twelve tribes each—shared with Israel. Antoninus Martyr of Placentia is still acquainted with an old Semitic worship on the peninsula of Sinai, in which a linen ephod and an image are used; and Diodorus Siculus

arose very early in Israel a use of language that implied monotheism. One sees quite plainly from Ex. xxxii. 4, cf. 19, that even where the plural of the verb stands with Elohim, one can think quite well of one God. The idol, indeed, is only an ox, and is intended to represent Jehovah.

[1] So 2 Kings i. 2; Judg. xi. 24; cf. in general the phrase יהוה אלהיך.

[2] Ps. xlv. 12; 1 Kings i. 33; Gen. xl. 1, xlii. 30, xxiv. 9; Isa. xix. 4, xxii. 18; Job iii. 19; אדנים, Prov. xxx. 3; Josh. xxiv. 1, קדשים; בעלים, Isa. i. 3; מריטים, Isa. x. 15. In a somewhat different way the עשׂי and עשׂין, Job xxxv. 10; Ps. cxlix. Specially instructive is Josh. xxiv. 19, where Jahveh is described as Elohim Qedôschim.

says there was a sacred oasis there. In this religion they kept the feast of the new moon, practised circumcision, and worshipped the God of Heaven (El, Baal), without a female deity, and with no trace of a service coloured by sex, as the God of Fire and War, to whom even human sacrifices were offered. In the chastity and simplicity of this religion lay its capability of development. The kindred tribes around Lebanon were in possession of a religion which had sprung from similar sources, but which had already undergone a fatal degeneration. They adored the God of Heaven, but it was along with the Queen of Heaven in a sexually orgiastic worship. In struggling against this North-Semitic worship, Israel developed the South-Semitic religion into monotheism. Were I to substitute for North-Semitic in this sentence the word Hamitic, and for South-Semitic the simple term Semitic, I could then acknowledge this view as historically probable.

Against Stade's sketch of the origin of the religion of Israel, I must express myself in stronger terms, even when leaving entirely out of account the dispute as to the time at which a real religion began in Israel. He, too, is unquestionably ready to find the roots of Israel's higher religion in the worship of Jehovah that originated at Sinai. This Jehovah, who became through Moses the One God of Israel, Stade pictures to himself as the God of Heaven, in all essential points exactly as Land does. But instead of regarding this God and His religion as in conflict with the Canaanite worship, which, though akin to it, had developed in a different direction, Stade supposes *animism* to have been the religion of Israel in earlier times, and the predominating element in the pre-prophetic parts of the Old Testament as well as in Israel's whole mode of worship, or, more specifically, a fetishistic variety of spirit-worship which mainly consisted in the worship of departed ancestors, and, in particular, of the heads of families and clans. Thus, according to Stade, the various "Gentes" had their own particular cult, which showed

itself in taking care of the graves of their tribal heroes. The heads of clans performed this worship. A member of one tribe could not make a member of another tribe his heir. Each tribe had its own court of justice, and was fond of naming itself after the god whom it worshipped (Gad, etc.), or after heavenly bodies from which it claimed to be descended, or after animals (Leah, Levi, Rachel, Caleb, etc.). Ancestors were regarded as intercessors with God.[1] The stage of actual polytheism was not yet reached. The shrines of animism were the high-places (worship at ancestral graves), sacred trees, mountains, stones, wells. The god of this religion dwelt in Canaan. The graves of the patriarchs at Hebron, Shechem, etc., were his holy places. Magic was an essential part of this worship.

With this old religion of Israel the religion of Jehovah is in conflict, not, however, without appropriating several of its elements. So far as the departed alone are concerned, it takes up an attitude of indifference towards the idea of ancestral spirits, but so far as the relations of the living to the dead are concerned, an attitude of hostility and prohibition. Whoever touches a dead body becomes unclean, *i.e.* incapable of engaging in the worship of Jehovah. Sacrifices for the dead, dirges, etc., make a person unclean, or are forbidden. Nevertheless they are still practised.[2] The God of Sinai cannot dwell in the shrines of animism. Moses has no grave. The religion of Jehovah protests in this way against ancestor-worship. But the later development of Israel, after it had put down animism, retained in worship, customs, and language many of its elements.

This theory, while not without elements of truth, appears to me, as a whole, to lack historical probability. The idea that the people of Israel in its collective religious life can ever have practised a religion at variance with the religion of Jehovah is in itself irreconcilable with history, at least so

[1] Jer. xv., xxxi. 35. [2] 1 Sam. xxviii.; Isa. viii. 19; Jer. xxxv. 4.

far as that has left written records behind it. The religion with which, in Canaan at any rate, the religion of Jehovah had to struggle for victory, was a highly developed polytheistic nature-religion, in which worship of the dead, whether ancestors or not, played but a very secondary *rôle*. On such practices no special attack is ever made in the Old Testament. There is nowhere in our traditions any proof that the tribes of Israel ever had a religion belonging to the stage of animism, which was perfectly distinct alike from the religion of Hamitic civilisation and from the Mosaic religion of Jehovah, nor is such a hypothesis necessary in order to explain any of the phenomena of Old Testament tradition.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOSES.

1. The life of oppression and temptation in Egypt necessarily led to spiritual declension. But the succeeding period proves that there must have been in the people a rich store of unimpaired vigour. God was educating Israel to be the people through which He would reveal Himself; and in order that Israel might not prove untrue to its calling, but advance to a higher stage, He raised up a deliverer,[1] the man who became the real founder of the true religion, and whose work determined the whole development of that religion down to the time of Jesus. As purified in Jesus, that work forms even now the foundation of the religion and civilisation of Christendom, just as it is, on the other hand, the best part of Mohammedanism, and still works on directly in non-Christian Israel. With the exception of Jesus, Moses[2] is the most important

[1] Ex. ii. 23-25.

[2] מוֹשֶׁה, though derived, according to the etymological fancy of the narrator C (Ex. ii. 10), from מְשִׁיָּה, "he who is drawn out of the water," cannot possibly

religious personality of whom we have really trustworthy historical information.

It is true that we now have the picture of Moses only as it appeared in the light of a much later age, and we meet with a not inconsiderable variety of tradition regarding him. Still we may feel absolutely sure that we are in a position to ascertain everything in his life which is of any religious significance. For he is not separated from his biographers by an interval of time that is absolutely unhistorical; and even although legend has surrounded his figure with a sacred halo,[1] the true picture of the man who made Israel a nation can scarcely have got its main features obscured.

Like every creative act of God that stands out prominently in history, the founding of this religion by Moses was undoubtedly connected with historical circumstances that exercised a moulding influence over it. We cannot, it is true, infer, from the mere mention of Aaron meeting Moses, that "there were kindred spiritual movements in Israel," or assert that the action of Moses "was but the most powerful swing of the pendulum in a long series of most important movements which had come to a head among the people, and had then exhausted themselves again" (Ewald, ii. 46). The conditions that lead up to great spiritual deeds are often quite unnoticed, and keep on developing while the outer surface of a people's life appears to indicate only the quietude of

have such a meaning, for it is an active participle. The derivation of Josephus (*Antiq.* ii. 9. 6, ed. Col. 1691, p. 56) from *μῶ*, water, and *ὕσης*, rescued, is clearly a mere guess, founded on the Septuagint. The name is perhaps the Egyptian Mōs, Mesu (Ebert). In Hebrew the word meant, though certainly in defiance of the idiom of the language, "he who draws out," "the deliverer," which would in reality sound something like מוֹשִׁיע (Judg. iii. 9, 15; 2 Kings xiii. 5; Isa. xix. 20). Still we may call attention to the Levitical family מוּשִׁי (Mushi) (Num. iii. 20). Land regards the word as pure Semitic, and takes the form מֻוָּשִׁי from a root akin to יִשַׁי (Jesse).

[1] It may at least be mentioned here, that if Lenormant's deciphering is correct, King Sargon I. (about 2000 B.C.) relates an incident of his eventful life which reminds us in a very remarkable way of Moses being put into the river in an ark, and of his ultimate rescue.

exhaustion. But the first and most important condition of Moses' work was certainly the religious peculiarity of the Hebrew people itself, the tradition of its ancestral religion, the simple forms of which were probably preserved in special purity within the circle of his own kindred. Like all the religious heroes of mankind, he was certainly not without forerunners, but these the splendour of his name has relegated to obscurity.

The development of his religion is in its main principles thoroughly national. It is founded on the religion of the God of his fathers,[1] the simple principles of which, appealing but little to the senses, necessarily appeared to one of high religious and moral gifts far superior to the sensuous idolatry of the Egyptian populace or the mysterious natural philosophy of the priests. And Moses, when away from the Nile valley, among the kindred nomad tribes of the Sinaitic peninsula, was probably more than ever under the influence of the purer traditions of the Hebrew race. The later narrative, at any rate, represents the home which he found there as the house of a priest.[2]

Hence we should require, on the one hand, to reject all the writings that have come down to us, and thereby give up all hope of getting any idea of the work of Moses; and, on the other, to close our eyes to the manifest peculiarity of this religion, were we to accept the very prevalent but superficial view which we owe to Manetho's polemical treatment of the history of Israel, and to the advocacy of which, in company with Kaiser and others, even Schiller lent his pen, the view, viz. that the philosophy of the Egyptian priesthood was the

[1] According to C, Ex. ii. 12, 13, 15, iii. 6, iv. 5, vii. 16; according to A, Ex. vi. 2, 3.

[2] In C (B), Ex. ii. 16, iii. 1, xviii. 1; if כהן here signifies priest, and has not a wider meaning, which in such a context is highly improbable. From very different standpoints, Kuenen, Stade, Land, etc., all point to the peninsula of Sinai as the "mother-soil" of the religious development carried out by Moses. We meet with a view not exactly the same in Num. x. 29 f. (probably A).

chief source of the Mosaic religion. The popular reminiscence, which, even though late, is quite above suspicion, makes Moses hear the voice of God, not in the temple at On, but in the solitude of the desert of Sinai, among Hebrew tribes. When he leaves Egypt, he is not yet a prophet, but a national hero, pure and simple.[1] And, according to all the accounts, he appeared before Pharaoh as the messenger of the God of the Hebrews, whose worship was an abomination to the Egyptians.[2] His relation to the priests of Egypt is not that of betraying their secrets, but of opposing them. His rod swallows up their rods. His plagues show that his God is mightier than their idols. Ewald is right in seeing in the exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt a religious war.[3]

Nevertheless we cannot regard it as a matter of indifference that, according to Hebrew as well as Egyptian tradition, Moses was exceptionally familiar with the wisdom and culture of Egypt. There is no reason to doubt that owing to the knowledge and skill which he had acquired in Egypt, Moses found his work very much easier. The Old Testament accounts themselves indicate quite frankly a similarity, even though it be only in form, between his mighty deeds and the acts of the Egyptians.[4] And assuredly for the heavy task of leading an untrained and unruly multitude, he must have acquired in that country, then the centre of civilisation, much valuable knowledge. It might very well be that he incorporated into his own religious system forms and institutions which had been tested in Egypt. We might point, for example, to the Urim and Thummim and the sacred ark—though the latter at any rate is so natural, and occurs in so many old Asiatic cults, that we need scarcely seek for any

[1] Ex. ii. 11–16, iii. (C, B).

[2] According to C, Ex. iii. 18, v. 3, vii. 16, viii. 21 ff., ix. 1, 13, x. 3 (A, Ex. vi. 10).

[3] Cf. the composite narrative in Ex. vii. 8–xi. Ewald, *Geschichte*, vol. ii. pp. 73–123.

[4] Ex. vii. 8, cf. 11, 12; 19, cf. 22; viii. 1 f., cf. 3, 7.

particular prototype. Indeed, to find in the work of Moses names and ideas borrowed from the learning of Egyptian priests, would in itself be nothing strange, even were they names of God, such as יהוה. That it is not actually so, is to be ascertained only by an unprejudiced examination of the facts, not by assuming the impossibility of such borrowing. But if anything Egyptian was adopted by Moses, it can only have been such elements as appeared to him suitable for giving outward expression to the thoughts of his own perfectly distinct religion. The main effect which Egyptian life must have produced on Moses was certainly this, that to him, through contrast with even the most dazzling forms of natural wisdom, the infinite value of the religion of the one living God, who governs the world and is not hampered by the phenomena of nature, became doubly clear, and that he consequently guided the religion of his own people all the more resolutely in this direction. But from this higher standpoint of culture, and with the ability to form a more independent judgment, he could better understand his own work, and keep more clearly in view the goal which the revelation of the true God had set before him.

Thus Moses is represented as doubly prepared for his work. As regards the contents of that work, the religion of his nation furnished him with the necessary historical basis; while, as regards its form, he was fully equipped by his contact with the highest culture of the then existing world. Still, both these facts do not explain how Moses came to be what he was. Here also the really determining factor is the revelation of God. Having chosen him as His instrument, God endowed him with religious and moral gifts of singular power. By special dealings with him, God subjected him to a special preparation both inward and outward. The spirit which He had thus carefully trained, God illumined at the proper time with the certainty of the divine will and of the divine thoughts and ways regarding him. Just as the

national spirit of Israel is far from being identical with the holy spirit of revelation, so the spirit of Moses himself is far from being the author of the Old Testament religion. It was neither as philosopher nor as poet, but as prophet, that Moses became the founder of his people's religion. He received it, he adopted it in a religious spirit, he did not by his own thought create it.

Hence the early tradition of Israel relates how, in the solitude of the sacred mountain Horeb-Sinai, Moses, who had fled from Egypt as a merely human hero, grows conscious of the divine presence and becomes a prophet.[1] It presupposes throughout that this mountain was already a very ancient shrine,[2] at which it was quite in keeping with the ideas of the Hebrew people to hold a festival in honour of God.[3] This majestic mountain, standing alone in the midst of a pathless desert, became again in later days, as inscriptions prove, a sacred place of pilgrimage for the Arab-Aramæan tribes of the peninsula. According to our narrative, it was when Moses was at this holy spot that the eventful moment arrived when he became a man of God. Not by study or learning, but by the direct illumination of divine certainty he became what he became.

Moses trembled at the voice of God. His humility as well as his fear prompted him to decline the task.[4] He had first to be made conscious of the omnipotence of the God who was sending him. God had to fill him with the strength of a new inspiration, to convince him that the Creator has an absolute right to the energies and gifts of the creature,[5] and to remind him that his weakness could be made up for by the strength of others, and afforded no excuse for

[1] Ex. ii. 13, 14, iii. 1 ff. (C).

[2] Ex. iii. 1, 5, 12, iv. 27, xviii. 5, xxiv. 13 (B, C) (mount of God, holy ground).

[3] Ex. iii. 12, 18, v. 3, 8, 17, vii. 16, viii. 22 f., x. 7 (C).

[4] C, Ex. iii. 10 ff., iv. 1, 10.

[5] C, Ex. iii. 12, iv. 3 f., 11.

disobeying the divine call.[1] God must, in His own new and holy name, give Moses credentials to show that he had really seen deeper into the divine essence than his predecessors, and that he had been chosen as His messenger.[2]

According to the view of the Old Testament, therefore, the whole way in which Moses does his work is a result of this divine voice, a result of the consciousness that he is acting by God's commission, and is therefore doing each particular act which furthers his work in obedience to the will and voice of God. The narrative in its earliest as in its latest form represents all his acts as due to definite divine commands, and his whole life as strengthened, supported, and sustained by the divine approval.[3] His face shone with the reflected glory of the divine presence,[4] so that he had to cover it with a veil.[5] And from his own standpoint, which had certainly become a very peculiar one, the narrator A says that Moses heard the voice of God, not like other prophets only in moments of great spiritual excitement, but in every phase of his life-work, in quiet action and in impassioned speech. There arose no prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face.[6] The narrator does not indeed mean to assert, when he says that Moses "was faithful over the whole house of God,"[7] that the complete idea of the institutions about to be founded was brought before the soul of the prophet. But all through

[1] C, Ex. iv. 14.

[2] C, Ex. iii. 14.

[3] B, Ex. xi. 1, xiii. 1; C, Ex. vii. 14, 26, viii. 16, ix. 1, 13, 22, x. 1, 12, 21 (xix. 3, xx. 1); A, Ex. vi. 2, 10, vii. 1, xii. 1, xiv. 1.

[4] C, Ex. xxxiii. 18.

[5] Ex. xxxiv. 29–35.

[6] Num. xii. 6 ff.; Deut. xxxiv. 10 (A).

[7] As Steudel, 269, would infer from Num. xii. 6–8. With greater reason Wellhausen infers (*Jahrb. für deutsche Theol.* 1876, iv. 558), from the narrative in Ex. xix. ff., that the legal commandments of God properly so called must end with the ten commandments, and that the rest was originally regarded as oral instruction given to Moses, which enabled him as often as was necessary to speak to the people in place of God (xx. 19), and which put the Thorah within him as a living power. The forty days are here in a sense the school-time of a scholar with his master.

our present books of Moses the assumption plainly is that everything which necessarily follows from the divine work which he had undertaken, and which presses in upon the spirit of the man of God, is regarded as a direct message from God. Hence we may certainly give the sense of our narratives as follows: "From the day Moses was consecrated and strengthened by God for the work to which he was called, in all his actions he loyally executed the divine will, and carried out God's thoughts of love towards Israel." For the latest writers of the Pentateuch it was an accepted fact that all the religious knowledge and all the sacred institutions of Israel that were in actual existence down to the time of Ezra, had been received from God by Moses and communicated to the people as a complete and harmonious system for their guidance through life. This view is not that of Israel's early reminiscences, and no historical inquirer of the present day will advocate it. But what must we then regard as actually the work of Moses?

2. Moses undoubtedly placed the true religion on a firm and indestructible basis. In the later account which the law gives of itself, it is rightly said,[1] "The Lord made this covenant, not with our fathers, but with us." In this sense, but in this sense only, can I agree with Stade's declaration,—"That Jehovah is the sole God of Israel, who absolutely forbids all other worship, is not a Semitic idea, but one traceable to Moses, the founder of the religion of Israel." This whole fundamental reformation may be summed up in a single great principle, viz. that *in a world of perishing peoples, there should be set up one people through whom salvation should come.* The fellowship of Israel with its God as the God of salvation, which had hitherto found expression only in the ordinary half-unconscious and inconsequent life of the

[1] In Deut. v. 1-5, Hos. xii. 10, xiii. 4, Jehovah is named as the God of Israel from the land of Egypt onwards.

tribes, now becomes the conscious motive-power of an organised national life.

The character of this God has to be stamped upon the life of the whole nation, upon its civil constitution, its laws, its political and social habits, its aims and aspirations—in a word, upon its whole mode of existence. The people must be a holy people, God's own possession. Everything must have on it the stamp of this God, as a personal, holy, spiritual God, so that in this people there is thus implanted an infinite capability of moral development. But this God is likewise understood to be a gracious God, whose mercy reaches beyond the limits of the finite and the sinful, so that everything in His people has on it the seal of reconciliation. Between the holy God, who keeps a loving hold of His people, and the holy people that has been redeemed and reconciled, there must be an everlasting covenant, a relationship of mutual obligation.

When the religious centre of gravity is thus being shifted from the individual and from traditional usage to an organised community, there arises in one way a risk of retrogression. For the moral and religious life of a people cannot find expression except in sacred forms; it cannot take shape in the inner life of the individual. In the forms of national life to which the individual has to adapt himself, it meets him from without as law, "Thou shalt." Hence, the Christian gospel-sermon, which, looking away from the outer form, aims at the inner life of the heart, is in many respects more closely akin to the picture which national legend has given us of the patriarchal age; and it is not without reason that the apostles, in their speeches, pass so often over Moses to Abraham. Nevertheless, the work of Moses was, in truth, an immeasurable advance. He was the first to implant in history an indestructible life, in which the kingdom of God is permanently realising itself as, at least, in process of growth, and in which reconciliation of a spiritual God with

sinful man is a present fact, though not to the exclusion of the strongest conviction of man's impurity and God's perfection. The powers of the divine life can now be tested on human soil; the thought of a holy God should no longer kill, but make alive.

It was a grand idea to create a people of God whose task in the world was to be the bearers of salvation, to be God's peculiar people, even though this relationship should, in the first instance, be expressed but in outward forms and customs. Indeed, only in some such outward unchanging form, only as a living constituent part of the national consciousness, could this salvation be kept safe through all the storms of an age inwardly unripe for it, until it should reach maturity. This strong, though hard and repellent shell preserved for mankind the noble kernel of divine truth within it, until it was no longer needed, because that truth had struck its living fibres firmly enough into sanctified human hearts. Had it, at the very beginning, been planted only in the inner life, it would long ago have perished from the ignorance and evil passions of an unripe humanity. Now, we must not imagine either that the sacred forms, as such, were mainly new, and invented by Moses, or that he left behind him, in writing, detailed directions as to the national life. Perhaps, with the exception of the Sabbath, the name Jehovah, as describing the one God, whom the people were to worship, and a few religious rites, he did not create much that was absolutely new. His work was rather the organisation of the people into a confederacy of twelve tribes. But he gave to all such traditions of Israel a significance, through which they acquired, for the first time, religious value, "by making the people of God a holy nation with a definite moral stamp, in which the life of their God might unfold itself." By indissolubly linking Israel's consciousness of nationality to the religious conception of these moral rules, he inscribed them upon the life of his people more indelibly than by

writing a complete code of laws. Whatever is great in history, especially in religious history, is accomplished, not by "teaching, theory, or system," but by deeds, demonstrations of the spirit and of power. Else how poor Jesus would appear beside the least of the post-Socratic schoolmen!

From this conception of Moses' life-work it follows, as a matter of course, that a twofold judgment of his personality and of his work is possible. He was the creator of Israel as a nation, and only in that connection, of Israel as the bearer of a new religion. Thus one may look at him, on the one hand, as a mere statesman and social reformer, who, not as teacher, but as hero, created a State, not a sect, by gathering the masses of Israel into a confederacy of twelve tribes under the protection of the national God. Hence not till the struggle with the Canaanite mode of life began, were the peculiar energies of Israel's religion properly aroused. When Philistine oppression had welded Israel more firmly together into one nation, their simple religion, preserved in the tribal sanctuary, was brought more fully home to the hearts of the people by Samuel and David, who resumed the work of Moses (Land). On the other hand, one may regard the religious side of Moses' task as that which stood in the foreground from the very first, and ascribe to Moses himself the intention of founding a higher and morally purer religion than any of those around (Kuenen and Stade). The nature of our existing documents does not furnish conclusive proof of either of these views. But the general impression which the personality of Moses left on the memory of his people, and the fact that, under the most unfavourable circumstances, and in spite of much intermixture of religions and the apostasy of large sections, it was nevertheless able to strive after the loftiest ideal of religion and morals, is, in my opinion, a decisive proof in favour of the second view, which sees in Moses, not a mere national hero and founder of a State, but a prophet of

God. The religion of Moses centres in the conception of God's relation to His people. Jehovah is the God of Israel. In this way the true thought of the unity of God is combined in the happiest and most effective way with the feeling of the closest dependence on that God whom the people specially worships, without the theoretical question of monotheism being raised at all. To advance His work among men, and to communicate His salvation, God sets apart as on a special stage the people among whom He is known. By the mighty act of redemption, He obtains this people as His own inheritance. The deliverance out of Egypt is thus the fundamental fact to which the special relation of the Israelite to salvation can be as clearly traced as a stream to its source.[1] Consequently God is the real King of this people, its constitution being sovereignty by God, or theocracy, as Josephus, apparently using a word coined by himself, rightly designates this relationship.[2] A human authority is simply God's deputy. Hence Moses is, according to all the accounts,[3] only a prophet, a man of God, who lays the affairs of the people before God,[4] and then brings back to them the divine commands. Consequently Gideon at a later stage declines the proffered kingship with the words, "Jehovah shall rule over you."[5] Hence the wish for an earthly king is in the eyes of the pious of a later age a "rejection of God."[6] And when there was in Israel a kingdom sanctioned by God, we are nevertheless

[1] To this corresponds the New Testament λύτρωσις, redemption through the death of Jesus from the captivity of the prince of death; the expressions קנה פדה in their New Testament translation correspond exactly with the Old Testament figure.

[2] *Contra Apionem*, ii. 16, ed. Col. p. 1071: ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον, clearly therefore a word not yet in ordinary use.

[3] The passage, Deut. xxxiii. 5, were it to be taken in the opposite sense, would only give the view existing in the prophetic period. But even it calls God, not Moses, the King of His people.

[4] Ex. xviii. 19.

[5] Judg. viii. 22 ff.

[6] 1 Sam. viii. 7.

told that God went before the king of Israel; that the latter is His son, and sits at His right hand.[1]

Everything that concerns this people is God's affair.[2] Through the oracle of the priests as well as through the prophets whom God sends, the people receives communications regarding the divine will, guidance as to its resolutions, and warning as to the dangers that threaten it. And as long as Israel remains faithful, it may be perfectly sure of God's protection. Now this fundamental conception of God's relationship to Israel becomes, in the latest view of the work of Moses, an artistically-constructed theocratic system that is to be traced back to Moses. For the latest writers in the Pentateuch all the legal and moral ordinances in Israel are a direct expression of God's will, a revelation to Moses of His holiness. The Thorah, as "the word of God," is the law-book of this people, in which the idea of a holy national life conformable to the majesty of God unfolds itself in moral, civil, and ceremonial forms. Even in the discovery and punishment of criminals God gives direct help.[3] In this way God Himself makes this people a nation. Israel is, as a nation, the first-born son of God among the nations of the world.[4]

On the other hand, the people being the special possession of this God, must always look on itself as a holy people, and gather all its national feeling round this one spiritual centre. Whether there are other gods elsewhere in the world is not the immediate question. Rather this people has to surrender itself wholly and unreservedly to this God as

[1] 2 Sam. v. 24; Ps. ii. 4 ff., cx. 2 f.

[2] A particularly instructive instance of this mode of expression is Ex. xiii. 17 (B), where an act of generalship is directly attributed to God. Besides, the whole idiom of the law is based on this idea. Thus, in the song of Deborah (Judg. v. 23), the tribes are censured "because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

[3] Lev. xviii. 28, 29, xx. 20 f.; Num. v. 12 ff.; Josh. vii. 16 ff., etc.

[4] The religious side of these relations can be discussed in detail only when we come to describe Israel's message of salvation.

His possession. It must become a people in whose public appearances the characteristics of a holy Godlike life may find expression,—a people which reveals to the world the true character of its covenant God, and thus "glorifies His name upon the earth."[1] But certainly it was only a later age that created in detail the several institutions in which Israel's unreserved surrender to God of time, possessions, and even of personality, finds logical expression.

Hence this people does not stand to its legal constitution in the same relation as do modern peoples, whilst it shows in this point the greatest similarity to the conception of religion prevalent among many other peoples of antiquity. Everything is of a piece, from the most trifling commandment regarding outward cleanliness up to the fundamental thoughts of the moral law. Civic virtue is indissolubly linked to piety. Whoever violates the great fundamental principles of law and order, dishonours the national God as grievously as he who directly attacks His rights and sanctuaries. Whoever is pious in the Israelitish way has the welfare of God's people nearest his heart. On the other hand, whoever shirks the orders of his people's king, or breaks the ceremonial or the moral law, cannot be a good citizen. The whole is woven into a splendid unity, into the thought that this people should represent the kingdom of God on earth, and realise in its national life the main features of the divine order of things.

Kuenen has shown in a very satisfactory manner (i. 268) that the tradition about Moses as a lawgiver would prove, even though there were not a single one of his laws extant, that he must have stood prominently forward as a revealer of God's will,[2] just as it would be inconceivable, had David not been a poet, and Solomon a patron of

[1] So the old expression, Ex. xix. 5, 6, cf. Lev. xi. 45, xix. 2; Num. xv. 40 in A.

[2] Micah vi. 4; Hos. xii. 14.

philosophy, that the tradition about their doings could ever have arisen.

The work of Moses was at all events not of a theological kind. He did not concern himself with the question whether Jehovah was the one only God, and what was His relation to the other Elohim. But the result of his life-work was to make this God be recognised as the God of this people, and, indeed, as bound up with the main principles of its moral and social life,—a result which was never again entirely lost, and which formed the starting-point of all further moral and religious development in Israel.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF ISRAEL DOWN TO SAMUEL.

Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, i., 1876.

1. The Mosaic idea of the theocratic State demanded so much devotion on the part of the several tribes of Israel to the thought of a national religion, and such constant resistance to the natural desire for independence, that we cannot wonder that nothing but the first grand uprising of the national and religious spirit, such as a war of emancipation arouses, under the overmastering influence of one so powerful and consecrated as Moses, could for a short time give it reality. For such a realisation must certainly be admitted. True, one hears ringing quite distinctly through all the reminiscences of Israel, and even through the conceptions of the latest age, which encircle with a halo of glory everything ancient, the thought that the Mosaic age itself fell very far short of the ideal; that even those who stood nearest to Moses behaved in a way utterly at variance with the true religion, and arrogantly opposed the great leader of the

people;[1] and that Moses was the most toil-worn of men, and not even able to maintain himself, on every occasion, upon that pinnacle of faith which his mission required.[2] Still, it is certain that at that time a nobler spirit was aroused in the nation, and that Israel really felt, and desired to feel, that, in contrast with the peoples of Canaan, it was the people of God.[3] Nothing but such an uprising of the national spirit could have overthrown the superior civilisation of Canaan. Without this assumption, on which Ewald also rightly insists, it would, in fact, be impossible to understand how the people could have developed the religious powers which it displays in the time of Samuel and David. It is only by denying all value to the reminiscences of Israel, and by assuming that the oldest ancestral seats in Canaan were not conquered by a united people that came out of Egypt, but that there was a gradual peaceful settlement of the mountain districts by Israelites who did not at first show themselves in any way directly hostile to the native inhabitants, to say nothing of their being animated by the pride of higher religious worth (Stade), that one can think, not of a sudden upheaval and subsequent exhaustion, but of a slow continuous rise from very low beginnings.

At all events, one must not think of the situation as uniformly favourable. Certainly it is not to be imagined that the people had at that time any really inward appreciation of the great thoughts which the prophets afterwards developed out of Mosaism. Otherwise we should not understand how, for such a long time afterwards, even their leaders had never the slightest scruples in displaying a sad mixture of faith and superstition, of morality and immorality, and how they succumbed so frequently to the civilisation and influence

[1] Num. xi. 12 ff., xii. 3, xvi. 1 ff. (Levites and the "first-born" Reuben); cf. Ezek. xx. 8, xxiii. 3; Ex. xv. 24, xvi. 3, xvii. 1. That in such narratives the practical needs and antagonisms of the later time also find expression, does not rob them of their indirect significance for the question under consideration.

[2] Num. xx. 10, 12, 24, cf. xxvii. 14 (A ?).

[3] The old narrative according to C, Ex. xix. 8, cf. xxiv. 3.

of the surrounding nations. For the later development of the national religion is a conclusive proof that these phenomena were not due to actual decay of inner force. Consequently, it is more than probable that in Mosaism, after its first realisation, there still remained unextruded many remnants of a somewhat impure character, that in the religious ideas of the people themselves there was still much darkness and much externality, and that a clear theoretical perception of the scope of this religion was wholly lacking. In fact, it cannot be denied, as Vatke points out (251–254), that, in comparison with the age of Moses, the age of the Judges shows in many respects progress, not retrogression. This must certainly have been the case, in so far as the fundamental ideas of Israel were more deeply felt and more consistently grasped in the spiritual centres of the national life, by the prophets and the priests at Shiloh, and were specially recognised as antagonistic to the Hamitic religion, and indeed developed and spiritualised by this antagonism. But if the one age be pitted against the other, then that of Moses and Joshua was, in comparison with the succeeding centuries, an age of national and religious elevation. The one fact, that in this age Israel felt and acted as a united "people of Jehovah," is for the essence of this religion of the utmost significance. Even though we admit that there was an advance, between the time of Moses and Samuel, in the theoretical conception of the character of Jehovah and in the knowledge of the moral ideal, still we must regard the age of the conquest as superior to the succeeding in religious self-consciousness and in the fidelity and strength of faith exhibited by Israel. Although, in the succeeding age, progress was being quietly and imperceptibly made in many directions, yet, in contrast with the preceding, it must appear one of retrogression. In fact, such periods of apparent retrogression are often the birth-hours of a new and higher life.

By welding together the civil and the religious, the age of

successful conquest must have made the people rejoice in its spiritual and national characteristics, and must have aroused a feeling of proud enthusiasm for the God of the hosts of Israel. Certainly the sketches in the book of Joshua, especially those by the latest hand that touched the book, which would presuppose a condition of the highest political and religious perfection,[1] were composed in the magnifying light of later times, in which even external successes are represented in such a way as makes it impossible to understand the subsequent existence in Canaan of powerful hostile States.[2] If the religious and moral institution, as it stands in its finished state before the mental vision of A, or even before the eye of the Deuteronomist, had been then in actual existence, scarcely a page of pre-Davidic history would be intelligible. But there must have been at that time an outburst of moral and religious zeal such as may coexist even with impure forms of worship and very undeveloped conceptions of dogma, especially whole-hearted enthusiasm for the God and the sanctuaries of the people,—an outburst of much the same kind as occurred among the kindred Arabians when the enthusiasm of the earliest days of Islam put into their hands the conqueror's sword. It is a firmly-rooted conviction and, in spite of its lateness, undoubtedly a true one, that Israel "served Jehovah" as long as Joshua, and those associated with him during that eventful time, survived.[3]

2. A period of great strain and excitement in national life

[1] The originally Deuteronomic passage, Josh. i. 8 ff., xxiv. 15–29.

[2] Cf. *e.g.* Judg. i. 21 ff., according to A. The true view will be that rapid and successful forays determined Israel's supremacy in Canaan, although the whole land was not conquered, or actual possession taken of the strongest fortified towns; and then from the centres thus left a reaction soon made itself felt. According to Judg. i., *e.g.*, Judah had to conquer his own territory all by himself. Israel's really independent possessions on the west of Jordan, down to the time of the Kings, were probably confined to the northern hill-country of Judah and the territories of Benjamin and Ephraim. Everywhere else they were intermixed with Canaanites, or had beside them petty independent Canaanite kingdoms.

[3] Josh. xxiv. 31; Judg. ii. 7.

is generally followed by a period of reaction, in which, however, the forces that lead to a new revival are being imperceptibly prepared. But owing to the peculiarly close connection between the religious and the national consciousness of Israel, such reaction was necessarily accompanied by religious declension, by an inclination to amalgamate with other religions, and succumb to the civilisation, in some respects superior, of the surrounding peoples. They had, in fact, to reckon on living among, and associating with, the Canaanites for a considerable length of time, during which there could not fail to be a general interchange of habits and views. And owing to the close connection among all ancient peoples between men's mode of life and their morals and religion, this new style of living, in a civilised agricultural land, involved also the risk of adopting foreign views of religion.

The political position of the nation down to the time of the kings presented the gravest difficulties and dangers to the development of its religion. True, Israel ran no risk of meeting the fate of the Persians, whose religion soon lost its purity in consequence of their imperial position and their free intercourse with subject peoples. For, in the centres of national life in Israel where the heathen population had been rooted out, there flourished in all its purity the worship of the God of Sinai, whom the national priests served; and the devotees of the national God —Nazirites, judges, and prophets—fostered the enthusiasm for the national religion. But most of the tribes of Israel were living with Canaanite cities among them that had been left undestroyed. Solomon was the first who succeeded in imposing tribute and forced labour[1] upon the remnants of the native population which it had proved impossible to exterminate. Even the later parts of the book of Joshua,[2]

[1] 1 Kings ix. 20; 2 Chron. ii. 17 ff., viii. 7; Josh. xv. 63.
[2] Josh. xiii. 13, xv. 63, xvii. 12, 13.

and still more plainly the stories in the book of Judges, indicate that the remnants of the Canaanites were tolerably numerous.

Gibeon, which Saul in his zeal for God and Israel wished utterly to destroy,[1] Jerusalem, and Shechem[2] were inhabited by a Canaanite population. And the policy adopted towards them, as well as towards the surrounding peoples, was by no means one of isolation, as the laws of the later age represent. Notably, the tribe of Judah had such intimate relations with foreign elements that, for example, the powerful family of Caleb may, with equal propriety, be reckoned either to Judah or to the Kenizzites.[3] Even among David's heroes there are Ammonites and Hittites. In his own family there is an Ishmaelite. One of his female ancestors is a Moabitess. He takes his parents to the Moabites, and lives himself among the Philistines.[4] Inter-marriages with Philistine women are not represented as very desirable, but they are not forbidden.[5] David and Solomon enter without hesitation into alliance with the Phœnicians.[6] Now, as the Canaanites were unquestionably far superior to the Israelites in matters of secular culture, such intercourse could not but result in a toning down of the simplicity and stern severity of Israel's religion and morals. "The conquered gave laws to the conquerors."[7] To Israel, as to every ancient people without a clearly defined monotheism, it must have seemed very natural to pay to the gods of their

[1] 2 Sam. xxi.

[2] Judg. ix. 28; Josh. xv. 63 (cf., on the other hand, Judg. i. 8, 17!).

[3] Gen. xv. 19; Num. xiii. 31; Josh. xv. 17; Judg. i. 12 ff. (Gen. xxxviii.; Josh. vi. 25).

[4] 2 Sam. xvii. 27, xxiii. 37, 39; 1 Chron. ii. 17; Ruth i. 4 (cf. 1 Sam. xxi. 11, xxii. 3, xxvii. ff.).

[5] Judg. xiv. 3.

[6] 1 Kings v. 6 ff. (vii. 13 ff.).

[7] The later historians see in the sparing of the Canaanites sometimes a national sin (Judg. ii. 1), sometimes temptation by God, and an intention to strengthen Israel's national spirit by a struggle for national existence (Judg. ii. 3, 22, iii. 1, 2, 4), and sometimes a wise rule, that the land might not become a waste (Deut. vii. 22).

new and beautiful land, at the ancient shrines, the worship which these had been accustomed to receive, and to which the former inhabitants thought they owed the corn and the wine which the land produced.

Now, idolatry proper, actual apostasy from Jehovah for the sake of other gods, cannot have occurred in the way represented in the later accounts, which view it from the standpoint of the doctrine of retribution. The people as a whole were, beyond a doubt, proud of their nationality, and therefore also of their religion. They were a nation of conquerors. Only in very evil times, such as they experienced during the Philistine oppression, could the thought ever have occurred to them that their God was less powerful than the gods of Gath and Askelon. And during that period the unity of Israel, that is, its national and religious feeling, was actually strengthened and steeled by adversity. But the natural impulse to do honour to the god of the country would induce many an Israelite to frequent the sanctuaries and imitate the worship of Canaan without ceasing, on that account, to consider Jehovah as his own God.

Naturally the tribes most exposed to the danger of becoming lost to Israel's calling were those which, like the Ephraimites, were in close proximity to a central shrine of the native inhabitants. Thus, at Shechem, a process of amalgamation went on between the two peoples, just because of the sanctuary of Baal-Berith. A royal city, it ruled over considerable portions of Ephraim as well as its own Canaanite population. A nature-festival, much like "the feast of Tabernacles," united both.[1] On the other hand, old Israelitish tribes were weakened by coming into conflict, like Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, with the native population, or, like

[1] Judg. ix. We are certainly tempted to see in this "Baal of the covenant" Jehovah Himself under an ancient title, אל ברית (ix. 46). But in v. 28 the Canaanitish character of the population of Shechem comes out quite unambiguously.

Benjamin, with their own brethren.[1] But in spite of such complications, we must recognise that a common feeling animated Israel during those "times of the Judges," which it is probable were considerably shorter than the traditional chronology of later ages represents. And though there are no grounds for exchanging the Old Testament picture of a time of conquest, followed by a troublesome period, during which Israel has difficulty in keeping possession of the country, for a picture of gradual encroachment and settlement, extending over several generations, and resulting in actual supremacy only in the time of the Kings, we may still believe that in the midst of peril and apparent declension these times, nevertheless, witnessed an inward strengthening and development of Israel as a nation.

3. A strict political or religious unity, such as we may assume to have existed at the time of the exodus and the conquest, is not to be thought of during this period. The several tribes and cities were independent guardians of the religion and customs of the fathers. Hence it was once a common saying in Israel, "If ye ask counsel in Abel, then ye do well."[2] Each tribe had in the last resort to act on its own responsibility. It is particularly striking that Judah is represented as standing quite aloof from the national life. Neither in Deborah's song nor during the wars for freedom is this tribe ever mentioned. Far down into the time of the Kings the conflicting interests of Judah and Joseph, and even of Judah and Benjamin, determine their respective *rôles*.[3]

Still there undoubtedly existed, despite this independence

[1] Not merely Judg. xix. 20, in a narrative obviously very late, but also Hos. ix. 9, x. 9. The doings of Simeon and Levi at Shechem typify the reckless and treacherous refusal of all intercourse with the inhabitants of the country, Gen. xxxiv., xlix.

[2] 2 Sam. xx. 18. Each tribe had its own sanctuary, Judg. vi., viii., xi., xviii. ; 1 Sam. xx. 6.

[3] *E.g.* 1 Sam. xxii. 7.

claimed by the several sections, a higher national bond, by which all Israel was united together as "the people of Jehovah." A certain unity was implied in the fact that Ephraim, in whose territory the national sanctuary was situated, openly claimed and exercised a sort of hegemony over the tribes that lay within its sphere of influence.[1] Still more powerful was the prestige of the national sanctuary at Shiloh, with its Levitical priesthood. This sanctuary exercised over the history of Israel a paramount influence similar to that exercised by the sanctuary at Delphi over the development of the Hellenic people.[2] The prophets of Jehovah and the Nazirites, who specially represented the antagonism of the Hebrews to the Canaanites, were looked up to by all classes. Finally, it was the bounden duty of the whole people to fight "the wars of Jehovah," and to execute the ban which God imposed. Whoever shirked this duty fell under the ban himself.[3] By such means there was kept up a community of national and religious feeling, which made itself felt even in the bitterness engendered by civil war.[4]

4. During this period the morals of the people as a whole must have been tolerably pure, and their sense of morality and justice very active. The horrible crime at Gibeah is represented as something absolutely unheard of in Israel; it remains a byword for centuries, and causes, at any rate according to the later account, the annihilation of Benjamin's power as a tribe. The old proverbs, "No such thing ought to be done in Israel," and "Folly in Israel," imply a high morality.[5] The appreciation of national religion was also lively. Notwithstanding all their laxity in worship, they thought a Levite and his oracle a desirable possession.[6]

[1] Judg. viii. 1, xii. 1. [2] Josh. xviii. 1; Judg. xviii. 31, xxi. 19 f.
[3] Judg. v. 13 ff., 23, viii. 4 ff., xix. 29 ff., xx. 1, xxi. 10 ff.; cf. 1 Sam. x. 17, xi. 7 ff.
[4] Judg. xxi. 3; 2 Sam. ii. 26, xx. 19 f.
[5] Gen. xxxiv. 7, 31; Josh. vii. 15; Judg. xix. 23, xx. 10; 2 Sam. xiii. 12 f.
[6] Judg. xvii. 7 ff., xviii. 18.

Times, whose watchword was, "For the Lord and for Gideon," and which sang the song of Deborah, and perhaps also the Passover-hymn, must have been aglow with enthusiasm for the God of the people. The song of Deborah praises God because rulers arose in Israel and the people offered themselves willingly. It speaks of the saving deeds of God, who drew near in the glory of the tempest to defend His people against the mighty. The enemies of Israel are the enemies of Jehovah, and they who fight for the national cause fight for God. And so overmastering is this religious feeling, that Jael's breach of hospitality, because committed in the interests of Jehovah, is extolled as an act of heroism. With all this, one must allow that the iron age produced a roughness of manners, and, in the parts of the country most exposed to the attacks of rival peoples, a ferocity such as we see in Jephthah, who was both prince and bandit.[1]

It is certain that in the time of the Judges it was considered unobjectionable, and quite in harmony with the religion of Israel, to worship the national God by means of images, and to believe in the divinity of oracle-giving household gods. Gideon is not merely the political deliverer of Israel. He is also zealous for the religion of his people. His struggle against the worship of Baal-Berith, and against Canaanitish practices in general, and the reaction produced by this struggle can be clearly enough traced in the story.[2] He

[1] Judg. xi. 1 ff., 34 ff. It is much the same with David, 1 Sam. xxii.

[2] Judg. viii. 23. Still it was probably the purpose of a later age that first gave his name Jerubbaal (Judg. vii. 1) the meaning of Baal's antagonist (Judg. vi. 32). At that time Baal was like El, a name of God in Israel, which fell into disuse only at a later stage through antagonism to the other Baalim. Jerubbaal probably means "Baal supports." Proper names in which Baal is the name of God are not at all rare in Israel, cf. Jerubbaal, Ishbaal, Mephibaal (2 Sam. iii. 8, iv. 4, 8, xvi. 1, xxi. 7, cf. xi. 21; 1 Chron. viii. 33, ix. 39). In later times these were either altered in a good sense into compounds with Jahveh, *e.g.* Ishjo for Ishbaal in 1 Sam. xiv. 49 (cf. Wellhausen on the passage), or by way of ridicule into compounds with Bosheth = shame, *e.g.* Jerubbosheth, Ischbosheth, Mephibosheth, cf. above. The opinion I formerly held, that בּוּשָׁה, αἰδώς, was also an old name of God, is improbable in view of that other change of the name.

declines to be king, saying, "God shall rule over you." Nevertheless, he has no scruple in making into an image of God the gold taken as spoil in the sacred war,—conduct to which it is clear the term "to go a-whoring," or apostatising from God, is only applied in accordance with a much later mode of thinking.[1] On Mount Ephraim, Micah worships the God of Israel, and rejoices to get a Levite as priest. But up to that time his own son performed the duties of priest, and a molten image and teraphim constituted the paraphernalia of his domestic worship. These are so coveted that a whole Israelitish tribe takes them from him by force, and uses them down to a late period in the public worship of its chief city. And the Levite who is willing, for food and clothing and ten pieces of silver a year, to conduct this worship, the principal part of which consists in giving oracles, is represented as a grandson of Moses![2] Even in David's house teraphim are regarded as quite unobjectionable objects of worship.[3] Whether the brazen serpent which

It is, besides, worthy of notice that in Saul's family names with Baal were specially common, and in David's those with Jahveh. Still, according to Judg. vi. 25 ff., viii. 33, ix. 1 ff., Gideon's zeal is obviously for the God of his people.

[1] Judg. viii. 27 is clearly a reflection due to the later writer. The ephod in Ophra need not exactly mean an image, but may, as elsewhere, be the shoulder-cape of the priest, which acts as an oracle. In that case the molten image made of the gold is not expressly named, and is, according to the analogy of other passages, to be thought of as the image of an ox (Judg. xviii. 30; 1 Kings xii. 28 ff.; Ex. xxxii. 4). Besides, it is in no way improbable that the name ephod, as well as ephuddah, denoted originally the coating of precious metal with which the wooden or clay images of the god were generally overlaid (Isa. xxx. 22). It is exactly the same as with Jehu, who was also zealous for Jehovah, and yet had no scruples in allowing the ox-image of Jehovah to continue an object of worship (2 Kings ix. 22 f., x. 16–29).

[2] The image is intended to represent Jehovah (Judg. xvii. 3). Micah has a private chapel, cf. xvii., xviii. At any rate the story is obviously meant to cast ridicule on this whole service, the image being made out of stolen gold and attended to by a strolling priest. But that such was not the idea at the time, is proved by the plunder of this sanctuary by the tribe of Dan, and by the long continuance of the worship.

[3] 1 Sam. xix. 13 ff., xv. 23; 2 Kings xxiii. 24; Zech. x. 2. A later age naturally sees in these images gods subordinate to Jehovah.

Hezekiah ordered to be destroyed, and which purported to be the one made by Moses in the wilderness, was already in existence, and regarded as a symbol of God, hardly admits of being determined.[1]

The whole period before Samuel we must picture to ourselves as an age of contradictions. We find in it deeds of violence, blood-feuds even for acts done in war (as among the Bedouin of the present day), great licence for men in sexual intercourse, and polygamy without limit.[2] But along with these we find strong indignation against acts of cruelty, an admirable gentleness towards compatriots, keen dislike of a "foreign city," with a corresponding love for the customs and peculiarities of Israel;[3] hospitality which will risk everything in defence of a guest,[4] and in contrast with which the inhospitality of the inhabitants of Gibeah is represented as something unheard of; fairmindedness, so that even the runaway wife of a Levite is taken back again[5] unpunished; in a word, the normal characteristics of a simple and joyous existence. If the book of Ruth, despite its late date, gives a lifelike picture of these times, as the impression made by the story inclines us to believe, as well as the popularly simple explanation of the primitive custom of "taking off the shoe,"[6] we find in everything which is told us of Boaz and Ruth proofs that the people were kindly, honest, and naïvely chaste.[7] The wild times of oppression undoubtedly steeled the nerves of the people. And the hearth at which the sacred fire of the religion of Jehovah was kept purest was at the sanctuary of Shiloh, the home of the "ephod-bearing" priests.[8]

In David's time we still find the people exceedingly brave

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 4, נְחֻשְׁתָּן. In itself it would be in no way improbable that the serpent-form, which among most ancient nations represents something divine or dæmonic, should be used in the worship of Jehovah.

[2] Judg. xi. 1 ff., xvi. 1, 4, cf. viii. 18, 30, ix. 42 ff.; 2 Sam. iii. 27.

[3] Judg. xix., xx.

[4] Judg. xix. 20 ff., cf. Gen. xix. 1–8.

[5] Judg. xix. 1 ff.

[6] Ruth iv. 7.

[7] Ruth ii. 2–20, iii. 3, iv. 2.

[8] 1 Sam. xiv. 3.

and simple.[1] Marriage was held in high esteem.[2] An enthusiastic piety, certainly without any theological bent, formed the distinctive characteristic of the better Israelites.[3] The highest moral traits were considered to be honesty, submission to the will of God, abhorrence of usury and oppression,[4] charitableness,[5] generosity and magnanimity,[6] sincerity and fidelity in friendship.[7] But at the same time even the best are represented as having no scruples in behaving arbitrarily as husbands,[8] and in telling lies to an enemy in order to deceive him.[9] Cruelty in war is not merely permitted, but enjoined.[10] Side by side with individual instances of sincere repentance we meet with a naïve self-complacency.[11] Along with the highest magnanimity we find malicious joy at the misfortunes of a foe.[12]

CHAPTER X.

FROM SAMUEL DOWN TO THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

1. The grand task of re-inspiring a thoroughly disorganised and to all appearance decaying nation with the spirit of its heroic past and its divine calling fell, by all accounts, to Samuel, the son of Elkanah of Ephraim.[13] Like a second

[1] Cf. 2 Sam. viii. 4, xi. 11, xxiii. 15 ff.

[2] 2 Sam. xii., xiii. 2. [3] Judg. v.; Ps. xviii. 3, 4, 7, 11.

[4] 2 Sam. xv. 25, xvi. 11, xxiv. 14 (cf. Ps. vii., xi., xv. 1, xxiv. 3-6; Prov. xi. 1, 26, xviii. 5, xx. 10, 22, 23, etc.).

[5] Prov. xi. 25, xix. 17, xxi. 13, xxii. 9. [6] 1 Sam. xxiv.

[7] 1 Sam. xviii. 3, xx. 8, 16–42, xxiii. 16 ff.; 2 Sam. i. 26.

[8] 1 Sam. xxv.; 2 Sam. v. 13 (excess in drinking, 2 Sam. xi. 13).

[9] 1 Sam. xxvii. 8–12.

[10] 1 Sam. xxvii. 9; 2 Sam. xii. 31. According to 1 Sam. xv. 32, Saul is blamed for not having killed Agag. Vengeance even for acts done in war, 2 Sam. ii. 23, iii. 27, xiv. 7, 11.

[11] Ps. xviii. 22 ff.; cf. 2 Sam. vii. 18, xii. 13. [12] 1 Sam. xxv. 39.

[13] The statement in 1 Chron. vi. 28 ff., that his family was Levitical, cannot have any weight as against 1 Sam. i. 1, because the aim of that book is to exalt the Levitical priesthood. It gets more importance from the consideration

Moses, this leader and prophet not only gave his people unity and safety under monarchical rule, but also raised them to a higher religious unity. To the later age he appears the zealous advocate of priestly forms, and the opponent of a monarchy which was anxious to make itself independent of "spiritual" supremacy. According to the original tradition, he is a seer, and his interests are those of one zealous for Jehovah and His people. Above all, it was due to him that the consciousness of Jehovah's sovereignty over Israel got firm hold of the nation as a whole. As he himself was inspired with the prophetic spirit of revealed religion,[1] he is represented as the head, perhaps as the founder, of the prophetic guilds, in which devotion to Israel's God and to His salvation was cherished as at a sacred hearth. At first by his personal influence, and then by instituting a monarchy based on the idea of the divine headship, he secured the unity of Israel, and thereby the unity of its religion. Hence it was mainly owing to him that the theocracy attained the solidity and strength which found outward expression in the sovereignty of David and in the building of Solomon's temple. He impressed the people with a keener and more vivid consciousness of its position and calling as the people of God, an impression it long retained.

But nothing he could have done personally was so effective

that a non-Levite would scarcely have been allowed to serve in the sanctuary and share in its revenues and honour. But Samuel is consecrated by his mother's vow to service in the sanctuary, which would have been superfluous in the case of a born Levite. That his parents should have gone up every year to offer sacrifice at the sanctuary, would scarcely be an intelligible proceeding on the part of Levites (1 Sam. i. 11, 21, according to the Sept. tithes). Although as a servant in the sanctuary he is represented as wearing a priest's linen garment, which is, however, also related of David (1 Sam. ii. 18, cf. 2 Sam. vi. 14), he always appears afterwards simply as a prophet and national leader, never as a priest. For although he pronounces the blessing at the national sacrifices, and indeed performs them, that is a natural result of his position as prophetic leader. Elijah does the very same. For the honour paid to Samuel later, cf. Jer. xv. 1; Ps. xcix. 6; Jes. Sir. xlvi. 16 ff.

[1] Early accounts in 1 Sam. iii. 3 ff., 19, viii. 7, ix. 5, 15, 19, cf. vii. 9, xiii. 8 ff., and later, xv. 10.

as his securing for the people, by means of the national monarchy, a hundred years of full and complete unity, years during which everything that was of greatest importance for the religious development of the people was settled once and for all. It is in this respect that the first king, Saul, has a special claim on our attention. He protected his people both in the south and in the east,[1] exterminated wizards and sorcerers, and was, in the national sense, zealous against the remnants of the Canaanites.[2] He held fast by the noble simplicity of Israel's ancient customs.[3] But though heartily devoted to Israel and Israel's God, he manifested but little desire for a Levitical priesthood and a central temple,[4] and he had in general no anxiety for the development of that deep spiritual religion for which Samuel was so eager. The closing years of this high-spirited king were full of gloom, misery, and violence.

All the greater was the effect produced by the personal character and deeds of his successor David. Probably Bethlehem, his family seat, had some early connection with the tribe of Levi.[5] At all events, David was not only heartily attached to the religion of Jehovah, but also to its Levitical and prophetical supporters, in other words, to whatever elements in it had an elevating tendency; and he was himself in turn favoured by both prophets and priests.[6] While still a freebooter, he kept in his train a prophet, and a priest's son who wore an ephod. And when he became king over the whole nation, he made his new citadel, the city of David, also the religious centre which from that time onward ruled and regulated the whole religious history of Israel. The national unity being now assured, and the sanctuary being in the very centre of the kingdom, the religious consciousness of the people

[1] 1 Sam. xi., xxxi. 11 ff. [2] 1 Sam. xxviii. 3; 2 Sam. xxi. 2.
[3] *E.g.* 1 Sam. xi. 4 ff., 13, xiv. 2; 2 Sam. ix. 7.
[4] 1 Sam. xxii. 10 ff. [5] Judg. xvii. 10, xix. 1. [6] 1 Sam. xxii.

was at any rate set free from its earlier uncertainties and fluctuations.

The copestone was put on this structure by Solomon when he built for the God of Israel a splendid temple which, as was natural, aimed at becoming the one centre of national worship. This is the zenith of the national development, although in no sense the pure expression of the idea of this religion. Solomon was an Asiatic monarch of the type seen in heathen countries, and only too much inclined to show that such was his position by massing together in his capital the religious services of many different peoples. But all the same, his reign, looked at externally, was the final stage of the development in Israel of the theocratic State.

2. It is a common tendency among Old Testament theologians of the present day to overestimate the influence of the monarchy on the nationality and religion of Israel. I do not believe that the state of things under Saul and David was so very different from the state of things under Gideon as many expositors represent. But it does not remain a whit less certain that the monarchy after it had been firmly established by the triumph of David, was of the very highest importance to the nation, and consequently also to its religion. For a long while it was quite clear that Jehovah had proved Himself the God who rules the world, His religion, with all its ordinances, having been triumphantly established and successfully maintained in Canaan. Everything connected with the subject population of Canaan and its civilisation now appeared increasingly impure and objectionable. The God enthroned on Zion appeared more glorious than the God worshipped at Shiloh. As the joyful consciousness of national unity and national glory grew stronger, faith in the power of Jehovah grew stronger also.

3. Although the sudden prosperity which Israel enjoyed under David and Solomon had thus a tendency to promote religion, still such prosperity was not only very far from

producing that elevation of thought which the great prophets show us, but it brought in its train dangers of every sort. This warlike people ran the risk of having its simple constitution remodelled on the lines of a centralised military State, and of being thus assimilated also in religion and morals to those conquering peoples whose organisation was purely secular. Increasing riches must have done away with the strict simplicity of the Israelitish mode of life. There was, especially in the chief towns, a growing eagerness both to make money and to enjoy life, while honesty and fair dealing in business were becoming less common.

The more prominent position now occupied by Israel among the nations of the world could not have been attained without giving way in many respects to heathenism and to heathen ideas. Only from this standpoint can we understand the complaints of the oldest prophets as to the religious and moral conditions of the ruling classes. But we must not think of this declension as rapid, or as extending to all classes of the people. It is still the age in which patriarchal legend was handled in the spirit of B, C, the age to which was due the beautiful eulogy of the housewife in Proverbs,[1] and in which the phrase, "I dwell among mine own people," expresses a woman's perfect confidence that she would get justice and protection.[2] In fact, at the very time when the northern kingdom was tottering to its fall, the view taken of Naboth's treatment shows how powerful patriotism was, how keen the indignation at legal trickery and corruption, how strong the attachment, based on religious motives, to the family inheritance, and thus to the simplicity of agricultural life,[3] and how lively a force was the "unwritten" law of national custom.

4. In Solomon's brilliant reign, seeds of decay were sown, and, indeed, in a certain sense, by the very building of the temple.

[1] Prov. xi. 16, xii. 4, xviii. 22, xix. 14.
[2] 2 Kings iv. 13.
[3] 1 Kings xxi. 3, 17 ff.; 2 Kings ix. 36.

It was not merely that the old premier tribe of Ephraim, which included the best blood in Israel, held proudly aloof from the capital of Judah and its magnificent temple, and was always ready to raise the old war-cry, "What portion have we in David, or what inheritance in the son of Jesse? To your tents, O Israel!"[1] It was not merely that the military organisation and the civil burdens were felt oppressive by a people accustomed to freedom.[2] Even from a religious point of view, the temple, with its heathenish splendour, was not to the taste of ancient Israel, which had still a vivid recollection of how Jehovah had, since the exodus from Egypt, dwelt "in a tabernacle," and how His sacred ark was suited, not for a splendid Phœnician edifice, but for a shepherd's tent.[3] And a royal family which, to increase its own renown, offered sites in Jerusalem on which to worship the gods of the neighbouring nations, was not to the mind of the zealous in Israel.[4]

In Solomon's time the temple at Jerusalem did not claim to rival the ancient holy places in the land, such as Bethel, Hebron, Shechem, or Beersheba, or even to question their importance for the religious life of the people. It merely took the place of such spots as Shiloh or Nob, which were, in fact, not regarded as in themselves "holy places" strictly so called. It is the sanctuary of the king, and therefore of the kingdom. It is only those ancient places of worship which sacred legend celebrates with the most unreserved and joyous enthusiasm.[5] Jerusalem, it is probable, was not generally popular till after its destruction. It is only in the final edition of the Pentateuch that the need was felt of ascribing to it a sacred character in the patriarchal times. Hence such a "legitimation of Zion" is inserted where there was a geographical possibility of doing so, in the interpolated passage Gen. xiv. 18–20, and by the alteration of the text

[1] 2 Sam. xx. 1; 1 Kings xii. 10.
[2] 1 Kings ix. 11, xii. 4 (x. 26).
[3] 2 Sam. vii. Cf. Duhm, p. 49 ff.
[4] 1 Kings xi. 4 ff.
[5] Gen. xii. 2, 6, xiii. 18, xvi. 14 ff., xxvi. 23, xxviii. 16 ff. etc.

in Gen. xxii. 2 (אֶרֶץ הַמֹּרִיָּה). But the favour thus shown it, and its own magnificence, made it all the more distasteful to the people.

Consequently it is Jehovah's prophets who initiate and promote the rebellion of Israel against the house of David, although afterwards they must have been anything but satisfied with the result.[1] In northern Israel the worship of the national God by means of images was again confined to the ancient holy places, which still had strong attractions even for the inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah.[2] And as late as the Assyrian period we see that even great men of God like Elijah, never refer either to the temple at Jerusalem or to the house of David, but devote themselves solely to the worship of the national God of Israel.[3]

Nevertheless, the disruption of the kingdom proved that it was impossible for Israel to realise the kingdom of God in the form of a national State. Despite its larger population,[4] the kingdom of the ten tribes was utterly incapable of becoming the exponent of the true religion, then in process of development. Indeed, it scarcely managed, after a hot struggle, to retain what, at an earlier stage, had been proved sound and authoritative. In Judah, afflicted with internal weakness, there was a growing inclination to admit foreign elements, and thus fall away more and more from the national religion. Still the future was with this small and feeble kingdom. For here that mighty upward movement was quietly gathering strength, that spiritualising of religion,

[1] 1 Kings xi. 29 ff.

[2] 1 Kings xii. 29, 32; Amos iv. 4, v. 5, vii. 13; Hos. iv. 15.

[3] Specially noteworthy is 1 Kings xix. 3 ff., 10. Elijah acknowledges the altar on Carmel as the altar of God, and his sole aim is to root out the worship of Baal (xviii. 30). Besides, when Ahab's family is destroyed, Elisha does not advise the people to resume their allegiance to the house of David, but orders Jehu to be anointed (2 Kings ix.). The mountain of Zebulon is also, according to Deut. xxxiii. 19, a legitimate place at which to sacrifice.

[4] The blessing of Moses says of Judah: "Hear, Lord, the voice of Judah, and bring him back to his people." In other words, Israel, not Judah, is regarded as the representative of the people.

of which the great prophets of the following age were to become the advocates. If the age of Samuel proves that the period of the Judges, with all its roughness and wildness, had not only preserved, but even ripened the seeds of its better elements, then the prophets of the eighth century prove that in like manner the age after Rehoboam had not only not lost the seeds of the Davidic age, but had, among the circles of godly prophets, under circumstances apparently unfavourable, spiritualised and transfigured them. This quiet work of the Divine Spirit had as its instruments the prophets and the priests,[1] and as its visible station the temple of Jehovah, where, since Solomon's time, worship without images could never be quite put down, however frequently and openly the gods of other nations had also been worshipped there.

5. The religious development in the northern kingdom kept closely to the old national lines, especially in retaining the free and somewhat sensuous mode of worshipping the national God which had been in vogue from the days of old. The month of the feast of Tabernacles was altered. Priests were consecrated who did not belong to the ruling families, for the interests of the Levitical priests were too closely connected with the temple-worship at Jerusalem. The king himself appears to have performed various acts of worship, as the leaders of the people used to do. The shrines at Dan and Bethel became the centres at which the national God was adored under the form of an ox.[2] The time when the house of David reigned was to be wholly obliterated from the memory of the people. And this stage of religion retained its ascendency.

[1] That in priestly circles a side of this religion was cultivated different from that in favour with prophetic circles, that the former paid special attention to worship and sacred ritual, the latter to religion and morality, comes clearly out in the following age. But at first they were probably at one in their endeavours to obtain a unified and spiritual form of religion; and, indeed, it is not till after the Deuteronomist that the difference between their respective aims comes quite clearly out.

[2] Cf. Judg. xviii. 31; 1 Kings xii. 28-32, xiii. 1, 33.

For a time it certainly seemed as if, through the influence of Jezebel,[1] a Tyrian princess, a purely Canaanitish worship would be established in the northern kingdom, as the worship of Baal-Berith was formerly established in Shechem. The religion of the God of Israel seemed about to succumb. But soon a new and popular dynasty overthrew both the reigning house and the new religion, and re-introduced the old national worship.[2]

Jehu, like Gideon and Saul, is thoroughly zealous for the religion of the God of Israel. Jezebel, with her intrigues and sorceries, is the object of his special hatred. With reckless cruelty he sweeps away every trace of the worship of Baal, and regards himself as executing "the word of God by His prophets." But in so doing it never occurs to him to put down idolatrous worship of Jehovah.[3] At a still later date such worship was not given up. Indeed, there is no evidence that even men like Elijah or Elisha ever tried in earnest to put it down. But that did not prevent the pretty frequent appearance of prophets of Jehovah,[4] nor did it make Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, regard the religion of the northern kingdom as essentially different from his own.[5] Here, therefore, religion could make no real advance. It remained at a stage of development with which no great fault could be found had the conditions been obscure; but which, when contrasted with the purer expression given to the Mosaic thoughts by God's prophets in Judah, could quite justly be compared to a rebellion against God, or to adultery, as

[1] 1 Kings xvi. 31–xviii. 19.

[2] Kuenen's idea (i. 360 f.), that the persecution of Jehovah's worshippers under Ahab, and the successful resistance to it, resulted in a higher and more monotheistic conception of God, receives no support at all from the original documents.

[3] 2 Kings ix., x. It is peculiarly striking that, in this undertaking of his, he leans for support on the son of Rechab, evidently a man well known among the people as a zealous adherent of the ancient national God (x. 16). The harsh judgment of Jehu's rebellion in Hos. i. 4 is remarkable.

[4] 1 Kings xi. 30 ff., xiii. 2, 4, 14, 18, xiv., xvi. 1, xx. 13, 22, 35, xxii.

[5] 1 Kings xxii. 5.

the later age from its own standpoint terms it.[1] Joseph-Ephraim lost his birthright.[2] The prophets of the next generation, such as Hosea or Amos, who laboured quite in the spirit of the purer religion, were too late in calling the people back to the way by which alone they could be saved.[3] Naturally such a religion, being unprogressive and without clear self-consciousness, could not hold its ground when new civilised religions, backed by the power of victorious empires, came into contact with Israel. It then gave way without resistance before the worship of the great god and of the nature-mother.[4]

In the southern kingdom we hear almost more about real idolatry than in the northern, where there obviously was a stronger feeling of nationality and a greater abhorrence of what was foreign. The worship of Baal, indeed, forced its way into Judah only through the family of Jezebel, and by force it was again driven out through a revolution which centred in the temple and in the family of the high priest. But, with few exceptions, the kings of Judah permitted the worship of strange gods to exist side by side with that of Jehovah.[5] Nevertheless, in Jerusalem, and no doubt just in consequence of the spiritual worship in the temple which, thanks to the influence of the prophets, had never been entirely given up, the essential features of the true religion came out in a far stronger, purer, and more spiritual form than in Ephraim. We have, it is true, comparatively few trustworthy documents belonging to this age from which to obtain a knowledge of its inner working. But the prophecy of the eighth century is itself a fact sufficient to prove our assertion.

[1] 1 Kings xiii. 2, 34, xiv. 4, 9.

[2] Gen. xlviii. 3 ff., 17 ff., xlix. 22 ff. [3] Hos. i. 7, ii. 2.

[4] That the gods of foreign nations were worshipped in Israel at a later date is proved by Hos. i.–iii.; Amos iv. 3, v. 26.

[5] 1 Kings xiv. 21 ff., xv. 3; 2 Kings viii. 18, 28, xi. 4–24, xvi. 3.

CHAPTER XI.

RELIGIOUS FIGURES CHARACTERISTIC OF THE AGE PRIOR TO THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

Nazirite and King.

LITERATURE.—*Realencyclopädie*, art. "Nasiraeat" (1st ed. Oehler, 2nd ed. v. Orelli). Ed. Vilmar, "Die symbolische Bedeutung des Naziraeergelübdes" (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1864, iii. 438 ff.). Dr. Julius Grill, "Ueber Bedeutung und Ursprung des Nasiraeergelübdes (*Jahrbb. f. protest. Theol.* 1880, p. 645 ff.). *Realencyclopädie*, art. "Könige. Königthum in Israel" (1st ed. Oehler, 2nd ed. v. Orelli). L. Diestel, "Die Idee des theokratischen Königs" (*Jahrbb. f. deutsche Theol.* viii. p. 536 ff.).

1. In the earliest days of Israel's national growth, we find both the prophet and the Levitical priest exerting a powerful influence on the side of religious progress. But these we had better leave for consideration till they have reached their full logical development, and then we shall trace them back to their origin. The figure on which the peculiarly Israelitish spirit stamped itself most clearly and definitely in those early times, was unquestionably that of the Nazirite. In its later form, as sketched in the law,[1] this figure has already become so dim as to be scarcely intelligible. Had the Nazirite vow meant nothing more to an Israelite than this legislative prescription indicates, the *rôle* which national legend assigns it in the lives of Samson and Samuel would be as unintelligible as the emphasis which Amos lays upon this form of consecrated life. Samson as well as Samuel is consecrated[2] as a Nazirite to the God of Israel before his birth, and for his whole lifetime too, even his mother being

[1] Num. vi. 1 ff. [2] Judg. xiii. 3, 14; 1 Sam. i. 10.

required to abstain from wine and from everything unclean; whereas the law speaks only of a voluntary Nazirite vow lasting but a few months. It was as a Nazirite that Samson expected superior divine strength and a personal "holiness," and that Samuel was dedicated to the service of Jehovah, and yet neither case can possibly be understood from the regulations of the law concerning a Nazirite. But, according to Amos, it is regarded as one of the grossest insults to Jehovah that any one should induce a Nazirite to break his vow;[1] and they are represented as being "awakened" by Him, just as the prophets were.[2] Hence we must think of the Nazirite as occupying in the early times a far more important position than is accorded to him by A.

The name plainly denotes "the vowed one,"[3] thereby indicating the real character of this relationship. The Nazirite is in a special sense holy, consecrated to the God of Israel. He must therefore, even in his outer life, avoid everything which would obscure the special character of this national God, and His antagonism to the gods of Canaan. The Nazirite is originally regarded as one inspired with a consecrated zeal for Jehovah, the stern and jealous God of the fathers, the foe of the voluptuous and orgiastic nature-worship of Canaan.

Hence, according to the law, the Nazirite must not touch anything which would unfit him for the worship of Jehovah. So long as "the crown of God" is upon him, he must not touch any dead body—probably in direct antagonism to certain religious customs of Canaan. Every such touch makes his vow null and void.[4] Of course, this did not

[1] Amos ii. 12. [2] הקים.

[3] Philo, *De Hebr.* i.: ἡ μεγάλη εὐχή. נדר נזר. The root-meaning, probably, is separation. In Zech. vii. 3, הזיר is applied to abstinence from food and drink; in Gen. xlix. 25, Joseph is called the Nasir among his brethren, *i.e.* the distinguished one.

[4] Num. vi. 7, xxxi. 19.

debar him, especially in the warlike days of old, from taking part in "the sacred wars of Jehovah." Furthermore, no artifice of civilised life must check the free natural growth of his body. The hair, untouched by a razor, forms, as the crown of his head, the special sign of his holy dedication.[1] Above all, however, he is forbidden to taste the fruit of the vine, not merely wine as an intoxicating drink, but the whole produce of the vine. The use of this plant was, in Canaan, the regular symbol of civilised life, and even Israel used it with thankfulness and joy. Originally, however, the children of the desert saw in the vine a plant cultivated by foreigners, and worshipped by them. The Rechabites, whose ancestor is represented as a highly-honoured worshipper of Jehovah,[2] belong to a tribe closely akin to Israel, which did not adopt the civilisation of Canaan; and this they showed by abstaining from wine. Besides, the use of wine was closely connected with the orgiastic worship of the Hamites, and, as the legends of Pentheus and Orpheus prove, was regarded at first, even by the Greeks, as an objectionable foreign element. Consequently, the Nazirites were, along with the prophets of the olden time, the true upholders of the national religion.[3]

2. But the determining factor in the religious development of the second half of this period is the figure of the theocratic king. Not, indeed, as if this religion had been originally a work of the monarchy. The king is the last of the figures which had an important influence on the religion of Israel. And his importance in this respect depends less on his personal influence on the development of this religion, than on the effect which the whole bearing of the fortunes and position of the monarchy had on the religious horizon of the people. It does not admit of doubt that the

[1] Num. vi. 3 ff. פֶּרַע. The word נֵזֶר for head-ornament, diadem, Ex. xxix. 6, xxxix. 30; Lev. viii. 9, xxi. 12; 2 Sam. i. 10; 2 Kings xi. 12.

[2] 2 Kings x. 16; Jer. xxxv. 2 ff. Islam's rejection of wine is also due to similar views.

[3] Kuenen, i. 313 ff.

thought of a "holy people" originally arose without any reference to an earthly king. The picture of "the congregation of God" with its elders, as given to us by A, was certainly due to the circumstances of the exiles, whose ideal was an aristocratic theocracy.[1] But, historically, Israel had been for centuries an aristocratic republic uniformly directed in the last resort by the "oracle of God." The individual tribes, with their princes, were in a position of great independence, which it is clear they still retained till far on into the monarchical period.[2] Moses himself was not a king, as all our information about him conclusively proves. However high his position was acknowledged to be, and however resolutely he claimed, by virtue of his spirit and his mission, the obedience which is due to the leader of a nation, and faced the insubordination even of his nearest relatives with unflinching confidence in the rights conferred upon him by the divine call, he was nevertheless very far from occupying the position of an Eastern hereditary king. Even in Deut. xxxiii. 5 it is probably better to refer the kingly name to God. "So He (God) became king in Jeshurun."[3] Still less is Joshua represented as king, although he was appointed commander-in-chief in obedience to the oracle of the high priest. Nor have the Judges any definite official authority, but only personal influence. The whole character of their work indicates a certain want of order, a mixture of heroism and sensuality, of faith and superstition. And though the title of king is given to a half-heathen city magnate

[1] נשׂאים in A., elsewhere שׂרים (Ex. xxxv. 27, xxxiv. 31; Num. xiii. 2, ii. 5, 10, 18, i. 16, 44; Josh. ix. 15, 18, xxii. 14; cf. Judg. viii. 14 x. 18; Deut. xx. 9; 1 Kings iv. 2). זקנים, Ex. xxiv. 1; Num. xi. 16; Deut. xxix. 9; Josh. viii. 33, xx. 4, xxiii. 2; Judg. viii. 14.

[2] Judg. viii. 14; Deut. xxix. 9; cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 7, xx. 1 ff.

[3] Ewald, *Jahrb.* iii. 234 f.; Graf. According to Wellhausen, this passage is meant to exalt the law and the kingdom exactly in the sense of the later time, as the two highest blessings which Israel had. "Instruction Moses left to us . . . and a king arose over Jeshurun when the heads of the people were gathered together" (p. 266).

like Abimelech, or to a chieftain like Jephthah, these are, of course, instances which lie altogether outside the domain with which we are here dealing.

Certainly in the narrative of A there shines out, even in the patriarchal period, the hope of a brilliant monarchy in Israel;[1] and Deuteronomy gives us a definite constitution for a kingdom, as if Moses had so ordained from the very outset.[2] It might therefore appear as if the monarchy, so far at least as expectation and purpose were concerned, had started into life simultaneously with the other religious institutions of Israel. But a comparison with history shows that we have here only a transference to primitive times of the views held by a later age. For how else, according to the view of history given in the Old Testament, could Gideon have declined with pious reverence the title of king, saying, "Jehovah shall be king over you"?[3] How could Samuel have dared to resist the desire for a monarchy, and how could even the oracle of Jehovah have seen in such a desire "the rejection of God"?[4] How could the people, when expressing the wish to have a king like other nations, have failed to refer to the hopes of the patriarchs, and to the kingdom already provided for in the law of Moses?[5] Finally, how could Samuel have drawn up a constitution for the kingdom without ever referring to that earlier one in Deuteronomy which was, in fact, incomparably more in accordance with the spirit of Israel's religion than his own?[6] And even if we were to regard such statements, which are partly,

[1] Gen. xvii. 6, 16, xxxv. 11; cf. Num. xxiv. 17.

[2] Deut. xvii. 14–20.

[3] Judg. viii. 22, 23.

[4] 1 Sam. viii. 6 ff.; still more bitterly, xii. 12 f. Such opposition to the monarchy is certainly met with to a far less extent in the older narrative, 1 Sam. ix. 15 ff.

[5] 1 Sam. viii. 4 ff.

[6] 1 Sam. viii. 10–18 makes the king a perfectly arbitrary despot, and this is in x. 25 raised to the dignity of a written law. Still, as a matter of fact, in earlier times the crown appears to have been conferred by election on definite conditions and pledges. Cf. *e.g.* 1 Kings xii.; 2 Sam. v. 2 ff.

at any rate, of late origin, as being all due to the gloomy views of later days, still the monarchy when it came upon the scene was plainly something so new, so epoch-making in the history of the people, that it is impossible to think of it as expected in the time of the patriarchs.

It was the wish of the people, who were eager for external security, and probably also for the splendour of a fully equipped court, that induced Samuel to introduce the monarchy. The first king can have had no really permanent influence on the religion of Israel. The accounts we have of him are, it is true, from very different sources, and express divergent judgments. But in their opinion of his religious insignificance they are at one. It was under happy auspices, and with the full sanction of religion, that Saul was raised to his new dignity. Sacrifice having been solemnly offered, he was consecrated and blessed by the prophet anointing and kissing him.[1] He is represented as a thoroughly able soldier, and full of national zeal for the religion of Israel, but without the capacity to enter into the spirit by which that religion was to be furthered. His great services in promoting the safety and independence of the people cannot be questioned. Though he was suspicious, moody, and violent, faults like these, judged by the standard of Oriental rulers, should not cast too dark a shadow over his memory. But he certainly was not fitted to give this people the true idea of what their king should be.

His successor David was a man of a very different stamp. His is a figure the influence of which on the religion of Israel it would be difficult to overestimate. Even before he was actually king, the voice of the prophets had begun to direct the hopes of Israel towards the young hero. Prophets and priests were already flocking to his standard in the days of his adventurous youth.[2] After his accession, the kingly office was looked at in a religious light; and wherever grievous misuse of the kingly power did not tarnish its

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 22 ff., x. 1. [2] 2 Sam. iii. 9, 18, v. 2.

repute, it was invariably represented as a great blessing given by God to His people. This is shown by the fact that the book of Judges considers the pre-monarchical age a time of lawless disorder.[1] The same thing is shown by the high opinion which the oldest parts of the book of Proverbs entertain of the king's power, infallibility, wisdom, and goodness.[2] And how beautifully the later narrators depict David's reverence for "the Lord's anointed"![3] How gloriously the earlier songs express the confidence which Israel places in her kings![4]

In view of the picture expressly given us in the Old Testament, we must beware of regarding David as absolutely perfect, or as one who lived habitually in the world of religious thought and feeling. The traits of an ancient Eastern hero, and, indeed, in his later days, of an irresponsible despot, are to be seen even in him in all their naturalness.[5] But his great achievement was, to found among a people whose king was God, an earthly kingdom which did not clash with the divine, but was its proper expression, its willing instrument, and which brought into effective operation the blessing of divine protection which as the people of God they ought to enjoy, thereby giving them a permanent impression of the power of their divine King. Hence it was only as the kingdom of David that the kingdom in Israel assumed a religious form. David's house is the one chosen by God, on which to base the thought of the true kingdom which He desires. A feeling of this unique significance of his life and position runs through David's own songs,[6] and it is this, and not any religious

[1] Judg. xvii. 6, xviii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 25.

[2] Prov. xiv. 28, xvi. 10, 12, 14, xix. 12, xx. 2, 8, xxii. 11.

[3] 1 Sam. xxiv. 11, xxvi. 11; 2 Sam. i. 14, 16.

[4] 1 Sam. ii. 10; Ps. ii., xx., xxi., xlv., lxxii.

[5] 1 Sam. xxi. 3 ff., 14 f., xxv. 21 ff., 39, xxvii. 8 ff.; 2 Sam. xi., xii. 31; 1 Kings ii. 5 ff.

[6] Ps. xviii. 44, 51; 2 Sam. vii. 26, xxiii. 5. For his sake God protects Jerusalem, 2 Kings xix. 34, xx. 6.

knowledge he himself gained and taught, which is for the Old Testament religion the important side of David's work. The brilliant reign of his son has indeed added many new beauties to the picture of the true kingdom; but the figure of David, with its unique importance for the religious view of the people, it could not cast into the shade.

The special significance of this kingdom in Israel is as follows. Upon that throne, which is properly God's own, "the throne of Jehovah,"[1] there sits a mortal who is therefore God's deputy, "the visible representative of the invisible divine King" (Riehm). Hence, according to another metaphor, he sits on "the right hand of God,"[2] that is, in the place of honour.[3] And on that account blessings of every kind are spoken of as being poured out upon his head,—long life, fulness of joy, victory, renown, an enduring race,—blessings which may therefore be wished for and foretold to every individual king as a member of this royal house.[4] Consequently, he stands in a still more special manner in the favoured position into which Israel was taken in preference to all other nations. He is the son of God, begotten thereunto of God's grace, on the day when God raised him to the place of honour as king in Israel.[5] He is the Anointed One, the Messiah in a special sense.[6] For even if the anointing of the high priest were not, as is to be assumed, merely an ideal of the later age, at any rate the king alone is always represented as "the Messiah of God." And actual custom had no hesitation in ascribing even priestly rights to the head of the nation. Thus, at the solemn consecration of the sanctuary, David himself is represented as officiating in priestly apparel.[7] And the oracle of Jehovah thus addresses the king: "The Lord

[1] The expression is found only in 1 Chron. xxix. 23; cf. xxviii. 5.
[2] Ps. cx. 1–3.
[3] Cf. 1 Kings ii. 19.
[4] Ps. ii. 8 ff., xxi. 5, xlv. 8, 9, 17, lxxii. 9, 17.
[5] Ps. ii. 6, 7; 2 Sam. vii. 14; Ps. lxxxix. 27.
[6] Ps. xviii. 44, 51, ii. 2.
[7] 2 Sam. vi. 14 ff.

hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek."[1] It is only the later priestly religion which rigorously restricted all sacred acts to a priest.

In Israel the king does not dispossess God of His kingship. On the contrary, his power depends on the power of the true King. And because he derives his authority solely from God, God can also take it from him. The prophet, as the direct messenger of God, has the right to deprive even a king of his kingdom.[2] But inasmuch as the true kingdom was once for all permanently realised in David, to his family belongs the promise that it shall never be quite driven from its place as the reigning house. In spite of all shortcomings, in spite of all possible punishments, the idea of the theocratic kingdom must remain for ever identified with this family.[3]

For the people, the theocratic king is the reflection of the divine majesty. This is indeed the predominant idea in the kingdoms of the ancient East. Even in Egypt, Assyria, and Chaldea, the king is the visible embodiment of divine majesty. But here, where the conception of God is meant to include not merely power, but above all a moral attribute, it naturally has quite a different significance when the earthly king is His image. Hence the king may be addressed as "Elohim." This word is used in general as the official designation of the highest dignitaries to whom is entrusted the responsibility of final decision. But this word is once used directly of the king as an individual. I, at least, am always becoming less able to escape the conclusion that in

[1] Ps. cx. 4. I cannot think it probable that in this torso of a Psalm kingly dignity is ascribed to a priest, not priestly dignity to a king. Consequently, I do not consider an Asmonæan to be the hero of the Psalm, but one of the ancient kings.

[2] 1 Sam. xv. 26, xvi. 1 ff.; 1 Kings xi. 29 ff., xiv. 10 f., xvi. 1 ff., xxi. 21, etc.

[3] 2 Sam. vii. 14–16.

Ps. xlv. 7 the king is saluted as "Elohim." All other explanations of this address, *e.g.* "Thy divine throne," "Thy throne is God," "Thy throne is God's (throne)," are clumsy; and to alter the text, *e.g.* by leaving out the word אֱלֹהִים altogether, or by understanding some such verb as "establishes," is arbitrary. The author who wrote יהוה for God (not אֱלֹהִים, as the editor has now mangled his poem by writing), by using the word אֱלֹהִים in contrast with the divine name יהוה, meant to salute the king in an oratorical fashion as the bearer of the highest divine dignity on earth.[1] The people wish him the blessing of an everlasting kingdom.[2] His enemies are God's enemies.[3] His kingdom is to be founded on righteousness, and under his sway the land is to bloom and prosper.[4] All the hopes and desires of the people gather round the figure of the king, which is in all essentials David's, though embellished by certain features of the upright, wise, and powerful Solomon.

But, above all, in the idea of this theocratic kingdom there lies the assurance of overcoming the world. The God of Israel is not merely the God of this people, but also the Creator and King of the world. Hence His anointed is sure that he will triumphantly extend his sway wherever a righteous war summons him, until he shall have completely conquered Canaan, and until the other nations of the world, from the great river even to the river of Egypt, do homage to him and serve him.[5]

ADDENDUM.—From the death of Solomon to the downfall of Samaria there was a double kingdom in Israel. For a long time this fact was not felt to be a contradiction of the idea of a theocratic king. The kingdom of Ephraim was

[1] The objection, that one would in that case expect לְעוֹלָם, appears to me, in view of Ps. x. 16, xlviii. 15, to be at least not of sufficient weight to counterbalance the other difficulties.

[2] Ps. lxxii. 8 ff. (lxi. 7 ff.)

[3] Ps. ii. 1 ff., xxi. 10.

[4] Ps. lxxii. 16 ff.

[5] Ps. ii. 8, 9 xlv. 5, 6, lxxii. 10.

founded by the help of prophets; and even when the several dynasties were overthrown, great prophets like Elijah and Elisha never thought of bringing the people of Israel back to the house of David.[1] And in external pomp and military capacity there was scarcely a single king of Judah after Solomon to compare with Jeroboam the Second, or even with Ahab. But this changed as the northern kingdom drew nearer and nearer its end. In comparison with the religion at Jerusalem, which was always growing purer and more spiritual, the sensuous worship of the northern kingdom was looked upon by the men of God as more and more akin to heathenism, and the eyes of every pious Israelite were again turned to the house of David. How hallowed it was through the memory of the former unity and greatness of the people, through the prophecies and the divine thoughts bound up with it, through its connection with Jerusalem and the true worship of the spiritual God! Hence it was in the eyes of the pious the only legitimate dynasty. The reigning families of Ephraim are represented more or less as usurpers.[2] That these should rule over the land, that the people should be divided, is God's way of punishing the sin of David's house. But this punishment will come to an end, and only with the return of David's house can God restore prosperity to the people. Accordingly, though a citizen of the northern kingdom who had himself seen the glorious days of Jeroboam, Hosea looks to the house of David to save the whole people.[3] In fact, Hosea did not merely look forward to this, but hoped that the disorder caused in Israel by dynastic changes would actually give him an opportunity of helping to bring it about himself.[4] In the same way, when the glory of the northern kingdom was at its highest, Amos looked forward to the time

[1] 1 Kings xi. 29 f., xiv. 10 f., xvi. 1 f., xxi. 21 ff.
[2] Hos. viii. 4, xiii. 11 ff.
[3] Hos. i. 7, ii. 2, iii. 5.
[4] Cf. Hitzig on Hos. v. 10 ff.

when the fallen tabernacle of David should be again set up.[1]

This Davidic kingdom, as it then was, certainly did not give much occasion for joyous hope and great expectations. Conquered by Egypt, by the neighbouring robber-clans, by Assyria, by Babylonia, for a time tributary to the northern kingdom, and long a vassal to Assyria, it was possessed of no glory that could have given ground for hope to a people inheriting such memories. It was, in truth, a fallen tabernacle. It was guilty of childish levity and unmanly cowardice, of idolatry, and wanton cruelty to the saints. In the whole list of kings there were only a few who "did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, like their father David."[2] Most of the kings of Judah were despots like the princes of the surrounding heathen, warlike and cruel, or ostentatious and effeminate. Seldom did they pay even outward respect to the religion of Jehovah, not to speak of sincere obedience to His will. It is easy to see the impression which this declension produced. The Deuteronomic law regarding the king is an earnest attempt to stem the tide of royal degeneracy.[3] Samuel's words, as moulded by a later age, reveal a deep sense of the hurtful character of the monarchy, as compared with the former kingship of God.[4] In the later parts of Proverbs there is not a trace of the old joy that was felt in the monarchy. The one thing emphasised is its power. Nevertheless, all this could not efface the impression which the reign of David had produced. Even in Jeremiah the Davidic king is still spoken of as a signet-ring on the hand of God.[5] The book of Lamentations still emphasises in a touching way the significance of God's anointed.[6] And

[1] Amos ix. 11 (Zech. xi. 8, xiii. 7).

[2] For these references, cf. 1 Kings xiv. 25; 2 Kings xiv. 12 ff., xvi. 3 ff., 7, xviii. 14 ff., xxi. 1 ff., 20 ff., xxiii. 29 ff., xxiv. ff.; 2 Chron. xxi. 16 ff., xxxiii. 11 ff.; Amos i. 6 f., 9 f.; Isa. iii. 12, vii. 2 ff. etc.

[3] Deut. xvii. 14-20.

[4] 1 Sam. xii. 12 ff.

[5] Jer. xxii. 24.

[6] Lam. iv. 20; cf. ii. 9.

where songs of later days take the monarchy as their subject,[1] they celebrate its loving and gracious relations with God as well as its splendid victories, and they see in it the embodiment of Israel's happiness and glory.

It was not the present that awakened thoughts like these. It was the glorious past, with its promises of a better future. David remained the ideal of this decaying age, David who had tended Israel with clean hands and according to the integrity of his heart.[2] In the darkest days faith clung to the oath,[3] sworn by God ages before to David and to his house, that the kingdom would not depart from him, that David's son would be God's son, and God his father. Thus it was a faith in things not seen, a faith in the everlasting significance of this house. It is a phenomenon without parallel in history, that even under such circumstances the confident hope of seeing the Saviour of the future born of this dishonoured family is never lost.

Still, even in the centuries after Solomon the family of David was not without exceptional members of a better type, who were, so to speak, a pledge that in this ancient family the better faculties were only dormant, not extinct. Such exceptions gave faith the wished-for strength; thus a Hezekiah standing out in striking contrast to his father Ahaz, and showing, despite all his weaknesses, a close resemblance to his great ancestor, must have confirmed in Isaiah and Micah the joyful hope of a Messiah. Josiah, too, with the double crown of a reformer and a martyr, might well recall[4] the promises made to the house of David. And Zerubbabel, the descendant of David, who led to Zion the first little band of returning exiles to rebuild the ruined city, was, in

[1] Ps. lxxii.; cf. xxviii. 8, cxxxii. 10, 17, cxliv. 10.

[2] Ps. lxxviii. 69 ff.; cf. the way in which the book of Ruth glorifies the family legend of David's house.

[3] Ps. lxxxix. 20-39 (27, 28); cf. Ps. cxxii. 5.

[4] "The holy princes," whom God gave over to desecration, are Jehoiachin and Zedekiah, B. J. xliii. 28.

spite of all his lack of outward pomp, a figure round which Haggai's hopes of a Messiah might well entwine themselves, and one which Zechariah could regard as at least the type and pledge of the coming "branch" of David.[1]

CHAPTER XII.

RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE AND MODES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP TILL THE EIGHTH CENTURY, AND MORE PARTICULARLY TILL THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

1. Till the building of the temple, and, indeed, during the immediately succeeding centuries, we must assume that religious knowledge and the mode of public worship remained practically unchanged. Unquestionably the unification of the people under the monarchy, and the worship at Jerusalem, exercised a really great influence over religious life. But of the effects of these changes the people themselves were scarcely conscious, till they were explained by the creative spirits of the prophetic period. At any rate, the documents at our command are not sufficient to enable us to form a judgment as to this development. Before the monarchy was at its best, there were no organs for a visible furthering of religion. The prophets had to do with the definite tasks of practical life, not with religious reforms. The priests were occupied with giving oracles and with the national worship, and had to preserve intact at the national sanctuary the peculiar characteristics of the Hebrew religion, and to make the sacrificial ritual more definite. And the leaders of the people had enough to do in maintaining the political independence of the tribes of Israel, settled as they were among foreign peoples possessed of a higher civilisation than theirs, and in guarding against a religious and moral fusion with the

[1] Hag. ii. 23; Zech. iv. 6 ff.

Canaanites, though in many particular instances they were neither willing nor able to prevent the adoption of foreign views and customs.

If we wish to throw ourselves back into the religious life of those days, we must first lay aside all the ideas current in our own. Israel never thought, any more than did the other ancient nations, of a national religious education being a condition of national piety. That was successfully effected only by the religious community that returned from the Exile; and by so doing, it assuredly took a step fraught with consequences of immeasurable importance to the whole religious life of mankind. All that the people knew of God in the olden days, was derived from the sacred legends that told what He had done for His people and what He had revealed to Israel, as these lived on orally in the popular memory, and as we have them still in B, C, although, of course, in a diluted and purified form. The prophets were not at all anxious to teach what God Himself was, but wished in particular cases to declare His will. The priests sought to serve God in the appointed way, to secure for the people His favour, and to avert His wrath.

Only when this is realised with the utmost definiteness, is one able to answer aright the first and most important question about our subject, viz. Were the Israelites during these centuries monotheists? In the sense in which Judaism after Ezra's time, Mohammedanism, and Christianity presuppose monotheism on the part of their adherents, *i.e.* as a distinct theological conviction, the people of Israel prior to the eighth century were certainly not monotheists. But in that sense monotheism was not predicable of the people at all till the Exile. For when a people is really convinced of the theory that, with the exception of the one spiritual God whom it worships, divine beings in general are merely the non-existent offspring of superstition and sin, there is no danger at all of its turning away to false gods.

Hence the fact of the ever-recurring worship of strange gods in Israel proves that in the above sense the people was not monotheistic. Of his own free will, man worships only what he considers an actual being, one possessed of divine power. This conclusion is as unassailable as the other, that as long as the Israelites had no scruples in worshipping their own God on the high places and at the shrines of Canaan, they cannot have been aware of any law of that God commanding them to worship only at one particular place and in one particular way. For if a people is ready to serve its God by surrendering to Him whatever it has, even what it reckons dearest, it seeks to please Him, not to enrage Him by intentionally transgressing His ordinances. On the contrary, it will seek with scrupulous eagerness to ascertain where and how its offering will be most acceptable to God, and will not from some mysterious impulse of self-will do anything by which all the trouble and pains it has taken must be rendered fruitless and even hurtful. That Israel honoured the gods of the beautiful land of Canaan as the dispensers of its gifts, that it afterwards thought the gods of Assyria and of Babylon mightier than its own God, and honoured them more, is psychologically quite intelligible; but still only because it was not yet, in our sense of the term, monotheistic. And that it paid also to its own God the worship usual in the country, is readily understood. But to ascribe to Israel the folly of worshipping gods of whose non-existence it was convinced, or of paying to its own God, out of sheer love of contradiction, a worship which it knew He had forbidden, one would require to have the passionate zeal of Jewish scribes or the ignorance of criticism characteristic of many Christian theologians.

Accordingly, there can be no question of monotheism, unless, in the first place, we inquire only as to the convictions of the spiritual leaders of Israel, without expecting from the people any clear theological view on the matter; and, in the second place, unless we forget that religious monotheism is

something altogether different from a metaphysical conviction of the unity of God. The true representatives of Israel certainly acknowledged even in these ages only one God of Israel, only one God whom the people, as united to Him by religious bonds, ought to worship. However many mythical elements and legendary ingredients may be traceable even in the earliest recollections of the people, the pious among them, so long as they had a distinct religious consciousness, clung closely to the one national God, between whom and the gods of Canaan a sharp distinction was drawn.

If "Elohim" are mentioned along with Him, they have long ceased to be gods to whom worship is due, as it is to Him; they are merely powerful beings who attend on Him and serve Him. The first commandment in the law of the covenant forbids Israel to have any other gods beside the God that brought them up out of Egypt, or to worship them.[1] The oldest songs, such as the Song of Deborah or the "Passover" song,[2] glow with a sublime enthusiasm for the one God of the people. The piety of men like Gideon, Samuel, Saul, and David is perfectly alike in this respect, that it is pervaded by patriotic feeling, and by enthusiasm for the one God of Israel.[3] The view of patriarchal times given in B and C represents Jehovah as being from the very beginning the sole God of the patriarchs.[4] In the oldest Psalms we undoubtedly meet with the most unswerving faith in this God, without a thought of there being any other gods.[5] Apostasy from this covenant-God is, it is true, of frequent occurrence during this whole period. But this we cannot regard as strange. Hamitic nature-worship, with its charmingly sensuous background, had necessarily a greater attraction for peoples at a low stage of development than the strict, stern simplicity of

[1] Ex. xx. 2 ff. [2] Judg. v. 3–5, 11, 23, 31; Ex. xv. 2 f.
[3] *E.g.* Judg. vii. 18; 1 Sam. xi. 6, 13, x. 18, xiv. 41.
[4] Gen. iv. 26, vii. 1, xv. 1 ff., xviii. 1 ff. etc.
[5] Esp. Ps. xviii., xix.*a*, xxix. (iii., iv., vii., xi.).

the religion of Jehovah. And the people found this worship prevalent all over the land, associated with all the local memories and with a relatively high civilisation.

But the worship of a national God is not monotheism, but, at the most, only "monolatry." It does not exclude other nations from the right to have their special gods as Israel has his, less powerful perhaps, but still real gods all the same.[1] Indeed, it is implied in the view which the nations of antiquity had of religion, that, while not denying the actual existence of strange gods, they confined their own worship to certain national deities. For example, the language of the Mesha-stone is such that if the name Chemosh were changed into Jehovah, one would in many passages fancy oneself in the midst of Old Testament phraseology. Not only is it undeniable that such a view had impressed itself deeply upon the thought of the Hebrew people, but it is by no means wanting even among their spiritual leaders. It is very naïvely expressed when Jephthah asks, "Dost thou (Moab) not possess what Chemosh thy god giveth thee to possess?"[2] or when David complains, saying, "They drive me out of the inheritance of Jehovah, and make me serve strange gods."[3] All this is quite in harmony with the idea of the ancient world, as we may see from such instances as those of Naaman, who takes with him some of the soil of Canaan that he may be able to pray to Jehovah on holy soil,[4] even within a heathen temple; of the Queen of Sheba, who praises Solomon's God although He is not her god;[5] or of the heathen who exclaim, "Their gods are mountain gods. In the plain we shall conquer."[6]

Even where this view is not quite so prominent, it still

[1] This has lately been insisted on with the utmost emphasis by Kuenen, "Yahveh and the other gods" (*The Theological Review*, Manchester, No. 54, July 1876); cf. also Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Heft 1, Leipzig 1876, pp. 47–177, and Stade, p. 428 (God of the Hebrews, Ex. iii. 18, v. 3, vii. 16, x. 3).

[2] Judg. xi. 24 (cf. Num. xxi. 29; 2 Sam. vi. 21, xiv. 16).

[3] 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, 20; cf. Judg. x. 4–17.

[4] 2 Kings v. 15 ff.

[5] 1 Kings x. 9.

[6] 1 Kings xx. 23, 28.

determines the expression. It is not merely the heathen (?) Jethro who says, "Now I know that Jehovah is greater than all gods."[1] Even where the unity of Jehovah is being emphasised, the expression, "Who is like unto Thee among the gods?"[2] is quite readily used. It is as messenger of "the God of the Hebrews"[3] that Moses comes first on the scene. In fact, the whole covenant theory is really based on the thought that the people chooses as its God the God who has shown Himself the God of their salvation.[4] Jehovah is just the God of Israel.[5] And in quite the same way, at a much later date, in 1 Kings xviii. 21 f., the choice between Baal and Jehovah is regarded as an act of moral freedom,[6] however biting may be the scorn with which this author speaks of the "dumb idols." Hence, when they want to consult the oracle of Baal-zebub, the man of God merely puts the reproachful question, "Is there then no God in Israel?" The God of Israel formally proclaims war against the other peoples and against their gods, that it may be seen that "there is a God in Israel."[7] Only in this way is it possible to explain how Solomon, while maintaining the worship of

[1] Ex. xviii. 11 (Gen. xliii. 23), C.

[2] 1 Sam. ii. 2; 2 Sam. vii. 22; Ex. xv. 11; cf. Num. xiv. 9 (the Lord is with us, their defence is departed from them).

[3] Ex. iii. 6-16, vii. 16 (C).

[4] Ex. xx. 2, xxiv. 3 (cf. the Deuteronomic repetition, Josh. xxiv. 16 ff.); Lev. xxii. 33.

[5] Gen. ix. 26, xvii. 7 f., xxiv. 12, xxxi. 29, 42, 53, xxxii. 9, xxxiii. 20, etc. Particularly instructive is Gen. xxviii. 20 f., if one may here translate, "If God will be with me, and keep me in this way that I go, and give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall Jehovah be my God, and this stone which I have set up for a pillar shall be God's house." The order of words is in favour of this translation, and also the fact that in the other rendering there would be a repetition of the condition "if God will be with me" in the sentence "and if Jehovah will be my God" (Baudissin). Judg. xi. 30 f., where the perf. consec. introduces the substance of the vow, appears to me greatly in favour of this rendering. Accordingly, I no longer think it right to translate "if this happens, and Jehovah be my God, *i.e.* show Himself my protector as He blessed my fathers, then shall this stone become the house of God." Yet cf. xvii. 8.

[6] 1 Kings xviii. 21–39; Josh. xxiv. 15 ff.

[7] 2 Kings i. 2 ff., 16; cf. 1 Sam. vi., xvii. 46; Ex. xvii. 16.

Jehovah, could erect altars to other gods,[1]—conduct which Ewald is wrong in comparing with modern toleration, as it is rather "ancient" toleration, due to the polytheistic standpoint. The habit, never entirely given up till the Exile, of worshipping other gods, without at the same time ceasing to give the national God the highest place of honour, is only conceivable on the theory that the unity of the God of Israel did not in any way exclude the existence of other national gods, and their power to hurt or help. The whole stress is laid, not on there being no gods except Jehovah, but on Israel having no right to have any other god. Doubt as to this fact is not possible. We must, however, be careful as to how we use this argument, for during the whole period down to the Exile, however certain it be that at that time there was a clear recognition of monotheism, similar expressions were never wanting. But though one does not forget that Christian monotheism itself has not prevented the worship of saints and the adoration of the Virgin, the fact still remains certain, that during these times, and even much later, the idea that there were absolutely no beings at all of a divine nature except the God of Israel, so far from being carried out to its logical conclusion, was not even seriously entertained. It was never doubted that there were "gods many and lords many."[2]

This view does not come into conflict with the religious conception of the unity of God so long as all these powers are regarded as merely relative, as incapable of resisting the one Supreme Being. Where they are so regarded, there is in this particularism, however imperfect it is in itself, something really helpful to a religious relation with the Deity. Where it is a matter of religion, not of philosophy, the first and necessary thing always is the conviction of having God as one's own, and of being also God's, not the consideration of how this God stands related to the abstract possibility of there being other

[1] 1 Kings xi. 7 ff. [2] 1 Cor. viii. 5.

gods. As soon as one God only, and that a personal and spiritual God, is the object of worship, and has a hold on the piety of the people, it is a matter of comparatively little importance whether reason has already discovered the only proper expression for this relationship—in other words, whether it has already denied the possibility of there being any other gods. For no other god can any longer be regarded as equal to this God of theirs, that is, be regarded as really and truly a god.[1] The missionary who, after the fashion of the ancient Church, sees in the heathen gods actually existing hostile powers, does not therefore consider himself less a monotheist than the man who sees in them the products of the human spirit.

The idea of Israel's leaders was something similar. Outside the people over whom the God of salvation rules, is the heathen world in which there are other gods. That these are mere creations of the religious imagination is never thought of at first, because of the vigorous realism of these olden times. They are rather thought of, in comparison with Jehovah Himself, as hostile powers antagonistic to the God of Israel. For where a god is not worshipped, he is not the god of that people, and he has, religiously considered, no existence. Hence it is quite a natural conception that the gods of the heathen world should have their place alongside of the God of Israel. Only they are hostile and invariably subordinate powers which must disappear before God. Who is like unto Him? He is the one God of salvation, the wonderful, the mighty, the incomparable, whose glory is to fill the whole earth.[2] That was all with which this ancient people in its struggle for existence had to do. It had not to concern itself primarily about a knowledge of the things of the heavenly world, but only about its connection with that personal God who overcomes the world and its opposition, who can and will help. Hence what Israel needed was the conviction that only in this God were victory

[1] So far Lessing is not wrong, "Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts," § 13.
[2] Ex. ix. 16, xiv. 21 ff., xv. 11; Num. xiv. 21.

and help to be found, and that upon them alone had He conferred His salvation. The first article in Israel's creed was not that there could be no divine beings at all except the God of Israel, but that strange gods signified nothing to Israel, and could not harm him.[1] The idea of the unity of God was reached by an act of faith, not by an inference of reason; it came practically into being through faith and love. Here, therefore, and not on the soil of a philosophy seeking after monotheism, there sprang up a strong living conviction as to the unity of God. True religious monotheism consists in this, in trusting the true spiritual God and Him alone. Religion never grows out of theories, but out of acts and convictions of the heart. Hence from being the holy King of His people, who permits His worshippers to have no other god but Himself, the God of Israel, by whose side, even in the earliest days of the nation, no female deity ever appeared, became by necessary evolution the "One" God of the Jews.

From the character of the documents relating to this whole period, particularly the pre-Solomonic, it is not possible to show with certainty how far this religious monotheism as held by the best of the people already included a theoretical acknowledgment that the Elohim were, in comparison with Jehovah, absolutely powerless and subordinate, without influence on the government of the world, and incapable of contending with Him; in other words, not "gods" at all, but merely superhuman beings of no importance so far as human interests went. But I have myself no doubt that the certainty of Jehovah's power, and the conviction that He ruled even outside the boundaries of Israel, were already sufficiently strong to furnish a basis for such a knowledge, though not of a systematic kind. In the old songs there stands alongside of the expression, "Who is like unto Jehovah?" this other distinct declaration, "There is no God but Jehovah, no

[1] Ex. xx. 2 ff., xxii. 20, xxiii. 13, 24 ff.; cf. Gen. xxxv. 2 ff.; 1 Sam. vii. 2 ff.

rock but our God."[1] According to the book of the covenant, Jehovah chose Israel just because the whole world was His;[2] that is to say, not because He was in any way attached, as a special God, to this land and people. Psalms like the eighth, nineteenth, and twenty-ninth praise Him who created the heavens and the earth, in whose holy temple the sons of the gods stand and serve. According to B, C, the same Jehovah who is Israel's covenant God is likewise the creator of the world, the God of the fathers, whom, as a matter of course, non-Israelites also acknowledge as God, the God of the spirits of all flesh.[3] He proves Himself in His wonders and in His glory the judge and the destroyer, the supreme ruler of Egypt, Sodom, and Canaan. In point of fact, therefore, the other Elohim withdraw as being no-gods, unable to determine the course of the world. He alone is a God who can inspire faith, love, trust. And He will manifest His glory also to the heathen world, and will not rest till it fill the whole earth.[4] He will bestow upon His people such happiness as will compel all the peoples of earth to acknowledge Him as the God of salvation.[5] It is indeed true that even polytheistic peoples not unfrequently regard one God as the creator of the world, and ascribe to Him the direction and development of its history, without, on that account, doubting the existence of other gods. But they do so while themselves surrounding that God with a crowd of other gods, whom they worship without derogating from the supremacy of their chief God. But a people which itself worships only one God, and regards this God as the creator of the world and the guide of its whole history, is for that very reason monotheistic.

[1] Ps. xviii. 32; 1 Sam. ii. 2. In 2 Sam. vii. 22 both expressions occur together. Judg. vi. 28 ff. already contains a bitter taunt as to the nothingness of the idols; but both passages betray a later hand.

[2] Ex. xix. 5 ff.

[3] Gen. ii. 4 ff., iv. 3, 26, xii. 17, xxiv. 31, 50, xxvi. 29; Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16.

[4] Ex. xv. 2 (Num. xiv. 21).

[5] Gen. xii., xv., xviii., xxii., xxvi., xxviii.

For gods whom nature and history do not obey, and who are at the same time excluded from worship, cannot be called gods at all. And a God whose rule is not restricted to the land and the nation where he is worshipped, is no longer a mere national God.

Accordingly, the particularism of Israel's idea of God had already, in these olden times, become merely the protecting shell within which the pure monotheism of the Old Testament religion could grow and mature. But the unity of God was not by any means conceived of as absolute singleness. What the school of Hegel affirms of the Old Testament conception of God, and what is certainly a tenet of later Judaism and Mohammedanism,—the abstract sublime singleness of God,—of that there is in the religion of Israel at this period absolutely no trace. God is represented as surrounded by a crowd of superhuman beings who are akin to Him in "nature," and may, to a certain degree, be compared to Him; and with these He holds intercourse. The conception of God is not limited, but open to this fulness of spiritual life. The pious in ancient Israel believed in "sons of God," in beings springing out of the circle of existence to which the divine life belongs,[1] beings that can only be conceived of when the Godhead is considered open to a fulness of kindred life and action. In B and C, God is, beyond a doubt, represented as surrounded by beings that are like Him, so far as the form of life is concerned. "The man is become," he says, "as one of us."[2] And where He appears to Abraham, He comes accompanied by attendant beings, who are, however, so connected with Him that, at any rate, an abstract separation of God from every other supersensible existence is impossible.[3] Hence the religious imagination of

[1] Gen. vi. 1–3; Ps. xxix.

[2] Gen. iii. 22 (whether in ver. 5 also the ידעי belongs to אלהים is doubtful.

[3] Gen. xviii. 2–17. Here, at any rate, there is a clear distinction drawn between God and His attendants, "the two men." But their appearance is,

Israel pictured the national God as the central figure of a group of kindred supersensible figures.

3. The pious of this age conceived of this God of Israel with a vividness, a freedom, and a power of sensuous imagination which would unquestionably have appeared objectionable to a later generation. In this they would hardly have been conscious of any essential difference between themselves and the kindred peoples. On His throne of authority, which is represented at least in the Song of Deborah as still connected with Sinai,[1] God sits surrounded by the Elohim. He sits enthroned upon the Cherubim.[2] The grandeurs of the thunderstorm at once enwrap and reveal Him.[3] In fact, He is obviously thought of in connection with every kind of heavenly phenomenon with which myth deals. For, though it is not impossible that such thoughts as those now in question may have been derived by the later writers from the fancies of the civilised peoples of Asia, the probability is that the seraphs of Isaiah,[4] the constellation of "the fool,"[5] and the leviathan,[6] the fleeing serpent which God pierced through, are all the offspring of Israel's own religious fancy.

Now sacred legend told how God came down from heaven to watch mankind,[7] and how He walked in the garden of Eden in the cool of the evening.[8] Fear lest men may become too strong determines the decisions of God.[9] With His own hand He shuts the ark.[10] He partakes of human food.[11] With His own fingers He writes the tables of the law.[12]

nevertheless, the same (xviii. 5, 9; cf. 15, 17, xix. 1); cf. Gen. xxviii. 12, xxxv. 7.

[1] Judg. v. 4 (Isa. xix. 1; Ps. civ. 3).

[2] 1 Sam. iv. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2; 2 Kings xix. 15 (Ps. lxxx. 2, xcix. 1; 1 Chron. xiii. 6).

[3] Ps. xviii. 11 ff.

[4] Isa. vi.

[5] Job xxxviii. 31 (ix. 9); Amos v. 8.

[6] Job iii. 8; Isa. xxvii. 1 (Job xxvi. 13).

[7] Gen. xi. 5, 7, xviii. 21; Ex. iii. 8.

[8] Gen. iii. 8.

[9] Gen. iii. 22, xi. 6.

[10] Gen. vii. 16.

[11] Gen. xviii. 8 (xix. 3).

[12] Ex. xxxii. 16.

Jacob is surprised that the God of his fathers is also to be found at a distance from his father's house; in other words, he takes for granted a close connection between God and the places at which He revealed Himself and was worshipped.[1] In general, His presence is thought of in a vividly sensuous way, in His intercourse with the patriarchs as in the ark of the covenant.[2] In the rustling of the trees David detects the near approach of God, as Elijah does in the sacred stillness.[3] Here, it is true, one must not forget the peculiar character of legend. Still all such features could only spring out of naïvely sensuous conceptions of God.

Revelations from this God the people expected by the mouth either of the priest, whose duty it was to consult the oracle in the sanctuary,[4] or of the prophet, in whom the spirit of God spoke.[5] It was taken for granted that He would make known His will in visions,[6] and by omens voluntarily chosen or due to accident.[7] But no one doubted as to real personal manifestations of this God. He was seen, in the terrible grandeur of the tempest,[8] nearing the earth on the wings of the storm.[9] The story went that He had walked and talked in bodily form with the patriarchs in the holy places,[10] and that His messenger had assured them that He would be present to console and help.[11] He was thought of as the miraculous light that glowed and burned in the holy bush on Sinai,[12] as the pillar of fire and cloud that led Israel through the desert.[13] Heaven and earth were not

[1] Gen. xxviii. 16.

[2] Gen. xii. 8, xviii. 1, xxvi. 2; Ex. iii. 16, xiii. 21, xxiv. 1, 10, xxxiv. 5; 1 Sam. iv. 3 ff., v. 3–vi. 19, etc.

[3] 2 Sam. v. 24, vi. 7–11; 1 Kings xix. 12 (קול דממה).

[4] Judg. xx. 28; 1 Sam. xiv. 34, 37, xxii. 10. (The Urim and Thummim we shall treat of later on.)

[5] 1 Sam. iii. 20, ix. 7, 19, 20, x. 2 ff.

[6] 1 Sam. iii. 3; 1 Kings xiv. 1; 2 Kings viii. 1; Gen. xl. 8, xli.

[7] 1 Sam. x. 3; Gen. xxiv. 13; cf. Judg. vii. 13.

[8] Judg. v. 4 ff.; Ps. xviii. 8 ff.

[9] Ps. xviii. 11.

[10] *E.g.* Gen. xii., xv., xviii., xix.

[11] *E.g.* Gen. xvi.; Judg. vi. 13.

[12] Ex. iii.

[13] Ex. xxxii. 34, xxxiii. 2, 14, 24, xxxiv. 9, 15.

sternly kept apart. At Jabbok an Elohim, a Malach, had wrestled with the patriarch, and been forced to grant him a blessing.[1] In the wilderness God had met Moses, intending to slay him, and had been appeased only by the bloody sign of circumcision.[2] God was represented as a terrible destroyer, before whose wrath His people trembled, even when not conscious of any real moral guilt;[3] as a God who avenged His offended honour[4] by pestilence and other kinds of destruction; who exterminated the enemy and the scorner, and visited the iniquity of the fathers upon the children;[5] who, it is true, consented to be reconciled when once the curse on His enemies, or on the family of the sinner, had been fulfilled; but who, before He was appeased, exacted a terrible vengeance from the whole people for every violation of His holiness.[6]

A terrible God this who kills with a look,[7] but who loves His holy people, and wishes to be their shield and help;[8] who chose them for their fathers' sake, and promised them the land of Canaan;[9] a God who loves righteousness and truth, who has prescribed to His people as His holy will the fundamental principles of justice and morality, and who is thus the source of all that is good and orderly in Israel.[10] Even in those days Israel knew that they could serve this God only by respecting the great fundamental principles of moral life. But it is equally certain that in all sorts of "religious" observances, in sacrifices, feasts, and lustrations,[11]

[1] Gen. xxxii. 25 ff.; Hos. xii. 5 (still more sensuously coloured).
[2] Ex. iv. 24 ff. [3] Ex. xii. 13, xxx. 12; cf. Ps. vii. 12, xviii. 9.
[4] 2 Sam. v., xxiv. (xxi. 1 ff.).
[5] 1 Sam. xxv. 18; cf. Ex. xx. 5; 2 Sam. xii. 14.
[6] 2 Sam. xxi. 8 ff.; cf. xxi., xxiv.; 1 Sam. xxvi. 19; 1 Kings xii. 15, xxii. 20.
[7] Gen. xxxii. 30; Ex. iii. 6, xix. 12, 21, xx. 19, xxiii. 20, xxiv. 11; Judg. vi. 23, xiii. 22.
[8] Ex. xx. 6, etc. [9] Ex. xix. 5 ff.; cf. Gen. xii., xv., xviii., xxviii.
[10] Ex. xx.–xxiii.
[11] The proof is found in passages like Isa. i. 11 ff.; Micah vi. 6 ff.; Hos. v. 6, vi. 16; Amos v. 25.

as well as in the keeping up of the ancient forms of purification, even though these were neither moral nor even purely Israelitish,[1] they saw an equally important, and perhaps even a more important, means of obtaining the favour of their God; and that if they overlooked any of these things, they were afraid of His anger.[2]

4. That there existed during any part of this period a definite order of service, or a single place of worship as prescribed in Deuteronomy, or as is presented to us in A's ideal sketch of Israel's early age, we cannot for a moment believe. Every trait in the old stories recorded of the days of the Judges, proves that nobody can ever have dreamt of the existence, at that time, of laws for worship such as we have in our present Pentateuch. Even the late narrative in Judg. xvii. 6 sees in the unity of worship, not an effect of the Mosaic law, but a blessing due to the national unity brought about by the kings. But even the founding of the royal sanctuary at Jerusalem could not at first cause any essential change, since it was certainly never intended to absorb the worship of the whole people. Only after the time of Hezekiah does it begin, under the influence of new views and circumstances, to have any such effect.

In ancient Israel, as among all ancient peoples, ritual and sacrifice naturally received great attention. Even the earliest prophets had to declaim against attaching a superstitious value to such observances. And it is self-evident that in their sacrifices the Israelites had in view all the ends which are afterwards referred to in the sacrificial "Thorah." In those days men sought to honour God, to thank Him, adore Him, pay vows to Him, and, above all, to appease His wrath, not indeed by inward action or moral conduct, as the prophets and the psalmists of later days teach, but by fasting and prayer, by weeping before

[1] Ex. iv. 24 ff.; 1 Sam. xiv. 33.
[2] Micah vi. 6, 7; 2 Sam. xxiv.

Him,[1] by acts symbolical of self-humiliation,[2] and, above all, by letting Him "smell a sweet savour."[3] Any one who dreads that the holy presence of God may destroy him, presents a burnt-offering, and, as soon as God has accepted it, feels himself safe.[4] Every one on beginning an important task seeks to gain the favour of God by an offering of some sort.[5] But sacrifice is most frequently represented as a gift of joyful gratitude for divine favours, and is therefore connected with a gladsome feast at the ancient shrines of the country. In fact, in Deuteronomy the intimate connection between sacrifice and feasting is simply taken for granted.[6] At the harvest feasts the first-fruits were brought into the house of God;[7] the "Olah" (burnt-offering) was perhaps a part only of the more important sacrificial meals. Sheep-shearing was an occasion for sacrificial feasting.[8] The firstlings of the herd were presented at the sanctuary.[9] Those who lived near a popular shrine assembled there for the annual feast;[10] members of leading families went also to the original seat of their clan.[11] People were naïve enough to think that the splendour and value of the sacrifices helped to please God. This is proved, not merely by the expressions that found their way even into the language of the law, *e.g.* "sweet-smelling savour," "pleasure,"[12] but still more by expressions like "May God let thy sacrifice be fat,"[13] which has quite a Homeric ring. It was thought that a gift pleasing to men would be also pleasing to God. Sacrifices are, in fact, nothing more than "the embodied prayers of men who think like children," and are in very truth as old as men themselves and their religion, as B and C take

[1] Judg. xx. 23, 26; 1 Sam. vii. 6, xxxi. 13; 2 Sam. i. 11, 12, xii. 16, etc.
[2] 1 Sam. vii. 6. The pouring out of water is a symbol of self-humiliation (Ps. xxii. 15; Lam. ii. 19); cf. 2 Sam. xii. 16 ff.
[3] 1 Sam. xxvi. 19.
[4] Judg. xiii. 23.
[5] 1 Sam. xiii. 12.
[6] xii. 5, 12, xxvi. 11 (Ex. xxxii. 6 ff.).
[7] Ex. xxxiv. 26.
[8] 1 Sam. xxv. 2 ff.; 2 Sam. xiii. 23 ff.
[9] Ex. xxxiv. 19.
[10] 1 Sam. i. 3 ff. (ix. 12).
[11] 1 Sam. xvi. 2, xx. 29; 2 Sam. xv. 7, 12 (1 Kings i. 9).
[12] ריח־ניחח, רצון.
[13] Ps. xx. 4; *Odys.* i. 61 f.

for granted; and these Israel adopted as matters of course, and practised without reflection, just as the kindred peoples did.

Now, it is an admitted fact that in Israel sacrifices were always offered under certain fixed regulations, which it was a grievous sin for a priest[1] to violate in a selfish or arbitrary way. But the people as such do not appear to have taken a religious interest in the manner of their performance. That was left to the priests, or else ancestral custom was followed, not a book of ritual. It was not the ritual that made the sacrifice lawful.[2] That depended simply on its being offered to the proper God, in a spirit free from greed and deceit. The sacrifices which are incidentally described to us in the course of this period are very various. Side by side with the magnificent offerings of kings, there are others of a very simple and primitive character,[3] but they differ one and all from those subsequently prescribed by the law. Thus, in Judg. vi. 18 ff., boiled meat[4] is burned with fire, for the general habit of boiling flesh gave way only gradually to the habit of roasting it.[5] The accompaniments are quite homely, and are left to the pleasure of the offerer.[6] There is no mention of the costly incense of the priestly law,[7] or of any distinctive ritual for sin-offerings and trespass-offerings, which seem to have been presented rather as payment of a fine, or in the form of a burnt-offering.[8] Besides, the polemical speeches of the prophets of the eighth and the seventh centuries show quite plainly that they knew nothing of a divine "Thorah" about ritual,[9] and that, on the

[1] 1 Sam. ii. 12 ff. [2] 2 Kings v. 17.

[3] 1 Sam. xiv. 34; cf. 1 Kings xix. 21.

[4] We must take this as a description of a real burnt-offering, even though xiii. 16 ff. be regarded as a mere act of hospitality.

[5] 1 Sam. ii. 12 ff. (Ex. xxix. 31, the boiling of the milluim-flesh).

[6] 1 Sam. xiv. 34. [7] Cf. Wellhausen, i. 67 ff.

[8] 1 Sam. vi. 3; Hos. iv. 8; 2 Kings xii. 16.

[9] Amos iv. 14, v. 21; Hos. iv. 6, viii. 8, 11; Isa. i. 20, ii. 3, v. 24, viii. 16, 20, xxx. 29; Micah vi. 6; Jer. vi. 19, vii. 21 ff.

contrary, "the teaching" of God appears to them to be diametrically opposed to sacrificial ceremonies.

That God might claim for Himself even a human life as the greatest gift which man can offer, probably appeared to Israel in those old times not a whit more doubtful than to the kindred peoples; and here one has to think, not merely of sacrifices to appease the wrath of God, but also of sacrifices in token of worship and in fulfilment of vows. Without this assumption, the constant relapse in the time of the later kings into the habit of human sacrifice would be quite unintelligible. But even the story of Gen. xxii. could only be told among a people according to whose reminiscences and point of view human sacrifice, although something extraordinary, was in no way inconceivable or revolting. The same inference is to be drawn from what we are told about the daughter of Jephthah.[1] He vowed a human sacrifice. For what else but a human being could he have expected to come first out of his own house to meet him? And in spite of his bitter grief as a father, he does according to his vow. The rationalistic watering down of the story by Hengstenberg, Cassel, and others does not deserve refutation. For whoever turns the sacrifice of the virgin into mere consecration to temple service, must simply do violence to expressions like "burnt-offering," or "do according to his vow," and the annual four days' lamentation he reduces to a sentimental absurdity.

In like manner, the life of Jonathan was all but sacrificed through a similar vow of Saul's,[2]—a proof of the terrible earnestness with which Hebrew antiquity understood "the fear of Jehovah" and the vow. And to atone for Saul's breach of faith, seven descendants of his were hanged on a tree before Jehovah.[3] Lastly, even in the time of Elisha,

[1] Judg. xi. 35 ff. Whether a myth originally lay hidden in this story does not, of course, in any way change the bearing of this passage upon the question before us. Cf. Oort, "Het menschenopfer in Israël" (*Theol. Tijdschr.* 1878, xii.).

[2] 1 Sam. xiv. 24, 26, 45.

[3] 2 Sam. xxi. 6 (1 Sam. xv. 53).

according to the conviction of the writer, the king of Moab, by sacrificing his son, gave the war a turn favourable to himself.[1] Hence it is impossible to doubt that, although the human sacrifice of the ancient Semitic religion had utterly disappeared from the regular sacrificial customs of Israel, it was not in extraordinary cases considered either wicked or inconceivable. It was only to men who had reached a higher religious standard that this seemed a relapse into the heathen atrocities of the neighbouring peoples.

We also meet with vows that do not refer to sacrifices[2]—not to speak again of Naziriteship. With regard to meat and drink, we must assume primitive customs of cleanliness. Nothing else will explain the later laws about food. Rules of cleanliness likewise regulated sexual intercourse, and were conscientiously observed, even when the moral considerations that should govern such matters were disregarded.[3] On the other hand, it is probable that in early times marriages which later Israel held to be incestuous—especially marriage with a half-sister[4]—were not yet objectionable to the people.

5. In this period two sacred ceremonies are already regarded as conditions and tokens of membership in Israel, and therefore as sacraments, viz. Circumcision and the Passover meal.[5]

Circumcision is not exclusively confined to Israel, nor even to nations of Terachitic descent. The facts cited by Herodotus, Strabo, Josephus, Philo, Clement, and others place it beyond

[1] 2 Kings iii. 26. [2] Gen. xxviii. 20 ff.; 2 Sam. xv. 7.
[3] 1 Sam. xx. 26, xxi. 5; 2 Sam. xi. 4. [4] Gen. xx. 12; 2 Sam. xiii. 13.
[5] Ugolin, *Thesaur. ant. sacr.* vol. xii. Spencer and Deiling on Circumcision. Saalschütz, *l.c.* i. 245 ff. J. H. Antenrieth, Ueber den Ursprung der Beschneidung bei wilden und halbwilden Völkern mit Beziehung auf die Beschneidung der Israeliten, Tüb. 1829, ed. Flatt. F. Baur, Ueber die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Passahfestes und des Beschneidungsritus (*Tüb. Zeitschr. f. Theol.* 1832, 94 ff.). Bruno Bauer, i. 88. Winer on the word. Schelling, iv. 134. Herod. ii. 104. Joseph. *c. Apionem*, 1047, A, C; 1069, B. Diodorus Siculus, ed. Becker, i. 75, 241. Clemens Alex., ed. Potter, 354. Origenes, ed. de la Rue, ii. 237 ff., iv. 494 ff. Epiphanius, *c. Hæret.* 30, 76. Strabo, *Geogr.* xvi. Euseb. *Præpar. Evang.* 432d.

doubt that this rite, which has been found even among South Sea Islanders and many negro tribes,[1] was practised from time immemorial by the Egyptians, Ethiopians, Kolchians, and many other African peoples. Certainly in later times among the Egyptians it was only the priestly caste that made a regular practice of it. But the frequency with which this rite is represented on ancient monuments, the Phallus symbol in the Hieroglyphs, and the condition in which most of the mummies have been found, prove that this custom was originally very widespread. And no one will now agree with Eusebius in thinking that such peoples derived this custom from the Israelites. Perhaps the Old Testament itself lets us see that it claims for Israel neither the sole possession nor even the origination of this custom.[2] At all events, the practice of circumcision in Israel reaches back beyond Moses into patriarchal times,[3] and it would in itself

[1] Cf. *e.g.* on the Dualla of the Cameroons and the natives of Mahin, the articles by Hugo Zöller (*Die deutschen Besitzungen an der westafrikanischen Küste*, ii., Th. 1, p. 80).

[2] According to Herodotus, it was from the Egyptians that the Phœnicians and the Syrians adopted circumcision. According to Origen, the Egyptians, Arabians, Ethiopians, and Phœnicians were acquainted with this custom. According to Epist. Barnab. ix. 6, it was practised by all Syrians, Arabians, idolatrous priests, and Egyptians. Ezekiel, too, xxxii. 19 f., represents it as a disgrace for the Egyptians, and also, according to ver. 29, for the Edomites, to be classed with the uncircumcised. The expression in Josh. v. 9, "the reproach of Egypt is taken away from you," is probably meant to imply that in Egypt non-circumcision was regarded as a disgrace. Hence, too, the passage Jer. ix. 25 must, contrary to Graf's interpretation, be explained as speaking of the Egyptians, Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites as "circumcised in flesh." Besides, it would otherwise be hardly possible to explain how in the patriarchal legend circumcision is referred back to Abraham, and therefore extended to Ishmael and Edom, and that only the Hivites and the Philistines are described as "uncircumcised." That the Idumæans, having intermixed with the Nabathæans, had given up this custom in the time of the Asmonæans, and that force had to be used to make them resume it, is quite intelligible. For between Jeremiah and those days lie the religious influences of the Chaldeans, the Persians, and the Greeks. In the time of Josephus, at any rate, circumcision can have been practised by none of the nations in Syria except the Jews (ed. Cöln. 1691, p. 1047).

[3] Gen. xvii. 11. Also the omission of all reference to it in the Sinaitic law of the covenant.

be quite conceivable that the influence of Egypt, a country with which the Hebrew people were very early brought into contact,[1] gave the external impulse to it, although when once this practice became the sacred mark of the covenant people, succeeding generations were perfectly right in regarding it as the expression of God's will and God's command to the fathers of the people. Still, several passages, and especially the puzzling old story in Ex. iv. 24 ff.,[2] permit us to infer that it was only during the Mosaic age that a strict observance of the custom was insisted on, and that, too, in the face of strong opposition; and Josh. v. 7 ff. shows us that even after Moses we must still suppose irregularity in the practice of this rite. But, by the time of the Judges, at any rate, it was not merely a custom observed as a matter of course, but one so deeply rooted in the national religion, as to be a source of pride to the Israelite, and a reason for despising "the uncircumcised," and especially the Philistines.[3]

What, then, is the meaning of circumcision? Long ago, in reference to the other peoples, Herodotus and Philo attributed the practice to considerations of health and cleanliness; and modern scholars like Saalschütz follow them. But since it was invariably the religious element that determined the sacred customs, this explanation is quite contrary to the spirit of heathen, and especially Egyptian antiquity, to which such considerations were utterly foreign. Modern scholars like Autenrieth have thought that this practice was connected

[1] Gen. xii.

[2] Moses' own son is not circumcised; cf. the words of Zipporah, which, though based on a proverb, have certainly a harsh and passionate ring: "A bloody bridegroom art thou to me." Probably the whole narrative, like that of Jacob wrestling with the Elohim, had originally a more sensuous colouring, and has been intentionally made more indistinct.

[3] Judg. xiv. 3, xv. 18; 1 Sam. xiv. 6, xvii. 26, 36, xxxi. 4; 2 Sam. i. 20 (Ezek. xxviii. 10); Gen. xxxiv. 14. I agree with Stade, that the practice did not originally spring out of Jehovah-worship, although I cannot think it probable that it has any specially close connection with ancestor-worship.

with the habit of exhibiting the male organs of slain enemies as trophies of victory; clearly far too superficial and one-sided an explanation of a sacred custom like this. By an overwhelming majority, modern scholars suggest a religious motive; and they are right. Among many peoples the organ of generation was an object of religious awe and reverence. It was so even among the ancient Hebrews, as incidental references to the national customs prove.[1] Hence some[2] have thought circumcision should be considered a mild substitute for castration. The latter was, in fact, regarded by many peoples as "a sharing with nature in the decay of vital power," and on that view circumcision would be a remnant of Hamitic nature-worship, become an organ of the higher religion. But if that were the case, why is it not found among the very peoples that insisted on their priests submitting to complete castration in the above mentioned sense? It is more correctly a "bloody sacrifice" (Ewald), or, still more accurately, a consecration of the life to God by a painful bloody purifying of the source of life which is regarded as holy.

Among peoples given to nature-worship, this custom may be connected with the consecration of the natural powers of generation and conception. But in Israel its meaning was conceived to be religious and moral. There was indeed no intention to express the thought of a universal priesthood, by applying to the whole mass of the people a sign which in Egypt was characteristic of the priests alone. Even if we were willing to admit the presupposed fact, this implies, for those times, far too much self-consciousness, and is too little in accord with their naïve and creative character. Circumcision is in Israel the consecration of a man on being admitted as one of Jehovah's holy people. On the organ upon which depends the perpetuation of life, and to which religious reverence was paid, this bloody purification was performed as a sign that the perpetuation of the whole

[1] Gen. xxiv. 9, xlvii. 29.

[2] Spencer, Bruno Bauer, Schelling.

people is sacred to God. The blood of circumcision is in very truth what the Rabbis call it, "covenant-blood," by the shedding of which communion with the holy God is rendered possible. This was how the act was afterwards understood in Israel, as the religious idiom proves. The word "circumcised," "uncircumcised," was used as equivalent to "consecrated," "unconsecrated," being applied in the most varied relations to natural objects—to the heart, the ears, the lips, etc.[1] Without this sacred sign, no one dared to take part in the religious privileges of Israel.

The second sacrament which attested the right of those who belonged to the holy nation to have fellowship with God and with one another, was the sacred covenant-supper, the Passover. In the oldest times it may, perhaps, have been an expiatory sacrifice. But even the earliest of our present documents know of it only as a feast in commemoration of the last evening before the deliverance. The sacred act of covenant-consecration, as it is described in the oldest narrative, the sprinkling of the people with "the blood of the covenant," the acceptance of "the words of the covenant," could never, in the nature of things, be repeated.[2] But, in memory of God's mighty act of deliverance, of the blood with which, on that occasion, the holy community was marked and protected from the wrath of the angel of death, in memory of the hasty exodus and the afflictions of those days, this supper was to be observed as a symbolical act of worship. The supper was holy. The animal had to be served up whole.[3] Every portion of the flesh had to be carefully kept from becoming putrid, and from any profane use.[4] Those who ate it, the members of the family as well as of the nation, could regard themselves as a holy community created by God's acts of deliverance, and sharing in

[1] Lev. xix. 23, xxvi. 14; Ex. vi. 12, 30; Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6; Jer. vi. 10, ix. 25, etc.

[2] Ex. xix. 5, 8, xxiv. 1–8 (Gen. xv. 9 ff., xvii. 1 ff.), זִכָּרוֹן, like the twelve stones in the Jordan, Josh. iv. 4 ff.

[3] Ex. xii. 8 f., 46. [4] Ex. xii. 10.

the highest "consecration." None but the circumcised could partake of the sacred meal; but all circumcised persons could do so, even though they were not descendants of Israel according to the flesh.[1] Here, then, we get a glimpse of a religious community wider than the nation.

We cannot, of course, assert that ancient, and especially pre-Solomonic, Israel observed this sacred rite in the way which the law prescribes, and did so regularly. In later times people remembered quite well that the earlier Passovers had not been kept in a legal way.[2] The enforcement of the law as to a single sanctuary necessarily altered many of the details connected with its observance. But this custom was unquestionably, even in olden days, an important and integral part of national piety.

6. It may be safely assumed that throughout this whole period the public worship of the community had been in the hands of an officially authoritative priesthood. In later times this priesthood is represented as identical with the "tribe" of Levi, as well as with the hierarchically organised *personnel* of the temple, as we find it in the law. Even in the histories of the Judges, it is taken for granted that no sanctuary of Jehovah is properly equipped till it has a Levite to act as priest, and especially to insure a proper use of the oracle.[3] In the popular sanctuary at Shiloh, we find a family of official priests possessed of great influence, and enjoying large revenues. They trace their lineage back to Levi, from which we may safely infer that the sacred character of this tribe was early acknowledged.[4] They have as their inheritance the burnt-offerings presented to Jehovah. They are the priests in Israel. "God Himself is their heritage." They are severely blamed for increasing at pleasure the income assigned them by custom out of the sacrifices.[5] At private sanctuaries, the owners paid them

[1] Ex. xii. 43 ff. [2] 2 Chron. xxx., xxxv. [3] Judg. xvii. 10, xviii. 4.
[4] 1 Sam. i. 3 ff. (Judg. xix. 18, xx. 18, 27, xxi. 5, 19).
[5] 1 Sam. ii. 28 (12 ff.); Josh. xiii. 14, 33, xviii. 7; Deut. xxxiii. 8 ff.

a salary, "filled their hands," on appointing them priests.[1] Outside the national sanctuary, these Levites are mentioned as both at Dan and Bethlehem. They play the somewhat undignified *rôle* of homeless "priests," wandering up and down the country.[2] The removal of the ark to the royal seat of their patron David, placed them, of course, in quite a different position. They now had a definite connection with a powerful royal house; and the magnificent temple which Solomon built, gave them a natural centre and favourable conditions of existence. It is true that the "Levitical priests" did not on this account cease to exercise the functions of their office at other national shrines. We have this fact expressly vouched for down to the time of Josiah.[3] But the priests at Jerusalem, especially the new family which Solomon placed at their head, naturally held quite a different position from that of the priests at the high places. And when unity of worship was actually carried out and became an acknowledged principle, their relations necessarily altered still more. It is true, the first intention was to give the priests outside Jerusalem the full right to sacrifice at the national sanctuary.[4] But from the very nature of the case this could not be actually accomplished. The Levites, who lost their occupation, became priests of an inferior grade. In fact, their very existence was threatened; and in Deuteronomy they are already mentioned, along with the poor, as fit objects of charity. As "Levites" they were soon quite subordinate to the priests. Ezekiel already directs that the Levites should, as a punishment for offering sacrifice at the high places, perform the menial duties originally assigned to heathen slaves, and that none but the sons of Zadok should exercise priestly functions.[5] In A the "Levitical priests" of the Deuteronomist have been replaced

[1] Judg. xvii. 12. Later, as the priests had fixed incomes, the word becomes the ordinary expression for "consecrate," Ezek. xliii. 26. In A the priests fill their own hand, Ex. xxix. 24 ff., 35; Lev. viii. 26 ff.

[2] Judg. xvii. 8.

[3] 2 Kings xxiii. 9.

[4] Deut. xviii. 1–7; 2 Kings xxiii. 9.

[5] Ezek. xliv. 6–16.

by the hierarchical organisation of high priest, priest, and Levitical temple-drudge.

It is very difficult to draw a historical picture of the Levitical priests in the olden days. The Levites, whom A represents as living since the days of Moses in tens of thousands on fixed incomes in their own Levitical cities, certainly do not belong to history. One can scarcely conceive a more startling contrast to this idea than the priestly family at Shiloh, with its "servants,"[1] or the Levites of the book of Judges, as they wander up and down the country alone.[2] On the other hand, it is an incontrovertible fact that there was "a tribe of Levi" in the very earliest times,[3] as is proved, not merely by the unfavourable judgment pronounced upon it in the national legend, which would not have been possible had "the Levites" been nothing but priestly families, but also by the circumstance that the unanimous voice of tradition makes Moses belong to this tribe, and never to one of the historically important tribes.[4] It is quite possible that in the tribe of Levi, as probably in all the tribes of Israel, there were families included which had merely joined it. The way in which Deut. xxxiii. 8 ff. speaks of Levi probably points to this, and the position of Samuel[5] indicates something similar.[6] Nevertheless, it is hard to persuade oneself that it was solely through a mistake due to the accidental similarity of the name that the priestly Levites, as "persons attached to the sanctuary,"[7] "professional priests

[1] 1 Sam. i. 2, ii. 12, 18. [2] Judg. xvii. 8, xix. 1 ff.

[3] Perhaps the name is connected with Leah, and is an instance of the *gens* being denoted by the name of an animal, as is so frequently the case among the kindred peoples (Stade, *Zeitschr.* i. 116; W. Robertson Smith, "Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testament," *Journal of Philology*, ix. 75, esp. 89 ff.).

[4] Gen. xxxiv. 25, 29, xlix. 5. [5] 1 Sam. i. ff.

[6] Deut. xxxiii. 8 ff. shows, on the other hand, how much importance even the Northern Israelites attached to this official priesthood; and this importance even after the exile of Israel is vouched for by Hos. iv. 1–10, vi. 9, and 2 Kings xvii. 27.

[7] לוּי.

in no way connected with each other by actual ties of blood," were identified with the traditional "lost" tribe of Levi, because, owing to their vocation, they had grown into a sort of "artificial tribe."

The following theory seems much more probable: Levi, the tribe of Moses, one of the oldest leading tribes in Israel, being through him, as it were, a "holy" tribe, was granted the privileges of the public priesthood. This position it retained even when it fell into civil disrepute. According to ancient ideas, moral and social virtues had nothing at all to do with "priestly holiness." As a tribe reckoned among the "first-born" of Israel, that is, as a leading tribe politically, Levi was so much weakened by fighting against the Canaanites that it became insignificant, and even lost its independent existence,—as Reuben did by struggling against Moab, and Simeon probably against the peoples of the desert. Levi succumbed, and Israel regarded his fate as a well-deserved punishment for having despised justice and equity, and having acted cruelly towards the native inhabitants of the land.[1] The remnants of the tribe, which, of course, like all the tribes of Israel, had never counted its fighting men by tens of thousands, as A delights to do, but whose numbers we must set down at a very modest figure,[2] had nothing for it

[1] Gen. xlix. 5. Israel declines all responsibility for their conduct.

[2] We ought at last to accustom ourselves frankly to recognise the numbers given by the historical writers of Israel, in so far as they are not describing statistical matters of their own day, as what they invariably are,—in A as well as in Chronicles, in the editors of the older historical works as well as in Josephus,—products of an irresistible tendency to revel in large numbers. As soon as we get a view of actual circumstances, as in the case of the Danites (Judg. xviii. 11), or when David began his career (1 Sam. xxiii. 16), we have never to do with tens of thousands of fighting men, but with hundreds. The country west of the Jordan, so far as it was actually in the possession of the Israelites before David's time, cannot at the most be reckoned at more than from 11–12,000 square kilometres, and this modest territory they shared in the south with kindred peoples, in the north and west with the Canaanites. Besides, the mountainous district of Judah was still in David's time a purely pastoral country, a safe refuge for bands of freebooters (1 Sam. xxii., xxv.), and all the stories about the olden days leave the impression that the country was

but to make good their claim to serve Jehovah. This the tribe succeeded in doing notwithstanding the mean and disreputable life many of its members must have led. Thus it eventually became in spiritual matters the ruling tribe in Israel. The twofold character of its position is reflected with special distinctness in Deuteronomy, which commends the Levite as well as the stranger and the poor to the charity of the people,[1] and in the Deuteronomic song which extols the lot of Levi, and bestows on him the highest blessing.[2]

But in whatever way this question may be answered, it is certain that in early times the priestly office of the Levites did not give them an exclusive right to offer sacrifice, and to perform the various other sacred rites, but only certain privileges in connection with the oracles at the shrines, and with the public sacrifices which required a definite ritual. Just as sacred legend represents the patriarchs as priestly figures, who build altars and offer sacrifices wherever God has made His presence manifest,[3] so during the whole period down to the

not thickly populated (Judg. xviii. 2 ff., xix. 10 ff.). Nomad shepherds could still pitch their tents in the valley of the Kishon (Judg. iv. 17), and outside the towns there was no population capable of offering any opposition to the robber bands from the east of Jordan (Judg. vi. 1 ff.). What the state of civilisation was is shown by stories such as we have in 2 Sam. xxiii. 11 (cf. Judg. iii. 31), where a man, by defending a field of lentils, wins for himself lasting renown and the gratitude of his people; or in Judg. vi. 11, where a rich man threshes wheat in a wine-press; or in 1 Sam. xiii. 19, where the Israelite shave to get along for a time without smiths. There were no large towns in Israel. There was absolutely no trade or manufacturing industry. Now, if fully settled and populated in the same proportion as the German empire is at present, the above-mentioned territory would have scarcely contained a million of inhabitants. Hence it would certainly be the highest possible estimate to reckon the Israelites west of the Jordan at the close of the period of the Judges at from two to three hundred thousand. This would give at the most fifty thousand fighting men. At the invasion of Palestine, therefore, we might perhaps put them at the half, thus getting for each of the smaller tribes somewhere between one thousand and fifteen hundred able-bodied men of war.

[1] *E.g.* Deut. xiv. 29, xvi. 11, 14, xxvi. 12.

[2] Deut. xxxiii. 8 ff. (Judg. xvii. 8).

[3] Gen. iv. 4, 26, viii. 20, xii. 7, 8, xiii. 4, 18, xv. 9, xxi. 33, xxvi. 25, xxxv. 3, 7. It is noteworthy that, according to A, the patriarchs do not

building of the temple, it was undoubtedly upon the father of a household, the head of a tribe, the prophetical leader, and the king, that custom conferred priestly functions at the sacrificial feasts which accompanied every solemn assembly. These were the persons, too, who were permitted, as amongst most nations of antiquity, to offer sacrifice at the tribal sanctuaries and at the private chapels of the nobility. Before Micah obtained a Levitical priest he made his own son act as chaplain.[1] Gideon, Samuel, and Elijah had no scruples in performing acts of ritual worship.[2] David offered family sacrifice at Bethlehem, and, at the bringing home of the ark, showed himself to the people clothed in priestly attire;[3] nay more, according to the most natural interpretation of 2 Sam. viii. 12 (1 Kings iv. 2–5), he even invested his own sons and other men of high position with priestly functions at the sanctuary,[4] alongside of the Levitical priests. And although a great change may have taken place after the building of the temple, still Nathan's sons are priests, and Zadok's sons hold secular offices;[5] while in the northern kingdom the chief sanctuaries are simply described as "royal."[6]

7. The feasts which, till Solomon's time, Israel celebrated without any legal guidance at all, and afterwards in accordance with very simple laws,[7] are perhaps of old-Hebrew origin only in so far as they are connected with the chief events in pastoral life, such as sheep-shearing, firstlings, and

sacrifice. According to him sacrifice is offered to Jehovah only after Moses introduced the sacred form of sacrifice. In Job i. 5, Gen. xiv. 18 ff., Ex. ii. 16, iii. 1, rightful priests are seen outside Israel.

[1] Judg. xvii. 5.

[2] Judg. vi. 20, 26, viii. 27; 1 Sam. ix. 12, xiv. 15, xvi. 5; 1 Kings xviii. 30 ff. (viii. 22, 54 ff.).

[3] 1 Sam. xx. 6 (that it is a mere pretext does not, of course, alter the matter at all); 2 Sam. vi. 14 (Ps. cx.).

[4] It is needless to say that the chronicler cannot allow this, and changes the priests into court officials (1 Chron. xviii. 17). But כהן in early documents never denotes anything else but "priests," and just in 2 Sam. xx. 25 Zadok and Abiathar are described by the very same word.

[5] 1 Kings iv. 2, 5. [6] Amos vii. 10 ff. [7] Ex. xxiii. 14, xxxiv. 18.

the Passover.[1] For the real harvest-feasts the people had possibly to thank the customs of the land into which they immigrated. But this cannot now be determined with certainty. What is certain is that Israel kept two great nature-feasts, of which the one, the feast of Tabernacles, had at this period no historical by-meaning; while the other, the Paschal Feast of unleavened bread, though perhaps already brought into connection with the exodus, was, as yet at any rate, mainly connected with natural occurrences, such as the offering of the firstlings of the flock and the dedicating of the first-fruits of the barley harvest. The feast of Wheat-harvest (C) seems to have been the least popular. It plays quite a subordinate part in the old festival-laws, and, in fact, can have originated only in a purely agricultural country.

The oldest festival-laws prescribe that Israel should on the appointed days come to the sanctuaries bringing the firstlings of the herd, the first eatable fresh bread (the heave-offering of seed),[2] and the first ripe fruits of the fruit-trees and of the vine. Such procedure even the oldest prophets regard as a matter of course.[3] "The maintenance of public worship was a tribute due to Jehovah, the generous owner of the land. To Him from threshing-floor and wine-press gifts of corn and wine were dedicated with ringing shouts of joy. And wherever this was done, the joyous consciousness of a grateful people found festive expression within the house of God."[4] In Canaan the most joyous of the festivals, at any rate, was the harvest-feast, the rites of which were connected with the usages of the original inhabitants of a country producing corn and wine.[5] On the other hand, echoing through the usages of the Pass-

[1] Sheep-shearing, Gen. xxxviii. 13; 1 Sam. xxv. 3. Tithe of wool, Hos. ii. 7, 11; Deut. xviii. 4 (Wellhausen, i. 96).

[2] Ex. xxxiv. 23 (Deut. xvi. 9).

[3] Isa. i. 13, 14, xxix. 1, xxx. 29; Hos. ii. 11, v. 7, ix. 5, xii. 10 (חג, מועד).

[4] Ex. x. 9; Deut. xvi. 7; Isa. xxx. 29; Hos. ii. 9.

[5] Judg. ix. 27; cf. xxi. 20. This feast is probably meant also in 1 Sam. i. 3. (Choral songs of maidens, songs of praise, festive sacrificial meals.) (Movers, *Phönikier*, 483.)

over, if we separate it from the feast of Unleavened Bread, we hear the notes of a pastoral age, and of life in the desert. The whole ceremonial seems a faint reflection of older habits, and the historical ideas with which the festival has been draped have doubtless replaced older ones, for which, as the religion became purer, there was no longer room.

It was precisely to those feast days, as something due to Jehovah, that the religious consciousness of the people, as we see from the polemic of the prophets, attached an extraordinarily great importance. Everywhere in our present documents we find, as their main foundation, the old-fashioned feasts of the New Moon and the Sabbath, which are closely connected, and are generally mentioned together.[1] When, under the influence of the Chaldee method of dividing time, the course of the moon with its four phases was adopted as the unit of time measurement,[2] the new moon and the seventh day were naturally regarded as the chief divisions of time, and therefore as holy days. Thus in Israel, as in other ancient nations, the new moon became a religious festival, celebrated by a meal of which only "the pure" could partake.[3] And the Sabbath is very early represented as holy, as a day to be kept free from business, on which one turns to the prophets for the word of God, and prefers, as a rule, to transact religious business.[4] In all this, the thought of a service to God, in the sense of an irksome duty binding upon all, was still something quite foreign to the national consciousness. It was a day of recreation and joy, irksome only to the selfish rich, and the greedy.[5] "One had time on the Sabbath for other than one's daily occupations. Servant and

[1] Amos viii. 5; 2 Kings iv. 22; Isa. i. 13; Hos. ii. 13 (1 Sam. xx. 5).

[2] Smith, *The Eponym Canon* (London 1875, p. 19 f.). Also among the Assyrians and the Babylonians the seventh day was a day of rest.

[3] 1 Sam. xx. 5, 18, 24, 26.

[4] Amos v. 21, viii. 5; 2 Kings iv. 23 (xi. 5).

[5] Hos. ii. 13, ix. 1 ff.; 2 Kings iv. 22; Amos viii. 5.

ass could be spared for a journey which was longer than a Sabbath day's. The masters were always on holiday. On the seventh day they had to let their servants and their beasts of burden rest also" (Wellhausen). In B, and even in Deuteronomy, the object is not so much that a man should strictly abstain from all work himself, as that he should not selfishly deprive his dependants of their rest.[1]

The Sabbath rest is certainly not a pre-Mosaic custom, otherwise it would scarcely have been specified in the fundamental law, which, for example, makes no mention of the primitive practice of circumcision. Besides, its possibility depends upon the change from pastoral to agricultural life being already complete. Now, although the idea of the Sabbath, as has been said, can be traced back to Babylonian civilisation, it is a mistake to derive the name Sabbath from the planet Saturn, which the Rabbis call "Shabbti," and thus to bring the Sabbath holiday into connection with the Chaldee worship of the planets. The naming of the days after certain planet-gods can hardly be so old as the Sabbath holiday. Besides, Shabbti is neither the Babylonian name for Saturn, nor even an old word. According to the four phases of the moon, the seventh day was the natural resting-point in computing time, and one well known among other nations also.[2] Thus the day was pointed out of itself, and was given the name "day of rest."[3] Its planet is therefore called by the Rabbis the Sabbath planet, "Shabbti," as the one to which this particular day was dedicated by astrology.

8. In the age before Solomon, and, in fact, down to the reign of Josiah, nothing was further from men's minds than the idea that Jehovah was to be worshipped only at a single sanctuary chosen by Himself; although Deuteronomy orders this, and A

[1] Ex. xx. 10, xxxiv. 21; Deut. v. 12 ff.

[2] I may remind the reader of the primitive Delphic custom of giving oracles on the seventh day, as the day dedicated to Apollo (Plutarch, *Quæst. Gr.* 9. Herod. vi. 5. 7); cf. Dio Cassius, xxvii. 18 ff. Macrob., *Saturn*, i. 16.

[3] שבת שבתון.

maintains that from the days of Moses there was an express law in Israel to that effect. The holy places in Canaan, whether hallowed by sacred memories of the patriarchs or used by the original inhabitants as places of worship, the Israelites, on gaining possession of the country, unquestionably retained as sanctuaries for themselves, without having the least doubt that such an arrangement was pleasing to God.[1] And provided Jehovah alone was worshipped at such places, and not the gods of the land, no one would have any conscientious objections to the forms of worship formerly in use there.[2] Owing to their sympathy with nature, all ancient peoples gave these holy places a significance no longer intelligible to nations of a later civilisation. The God of heaven was worshipped on high mountains, which, towering aloft in solitary grandeur, seemed most befitting thrones for the Heavenly One. In the sacred gloom of the grove one felt the very breath of the Deity. Regions where remarkable natural phenomena seemed to indicate a special revelation of God's presence,—fountains and wells which had served since the days of old as tribal rendezvous,—the shrine of the domestic hearth or the public centre of city-life,—spots which sacred legend had hallowed by memories of ancient acts of worship or of divine manifestations,—these were one and all recognised as places at which the Deity delighted to assemble His worshippers, and accept their gifts.

On such places[3] the native inhabitants of Canaan had

[1] *Real-Encyclopädie*, art. "Höhen, Höhendienst der Hebräer" (1st ed. J. G. Müller; 2nd ed. Wolf Baudissin). For the Greek and Roman customs, cf. Schömann, *Gr. Alterthümer* (2nd ed. 1863, vol. ii. 181 ff.). Hermann, *Lehrb. der gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Griechen* (2nd ed. by Stark, 1858, p. 68). L. Friedländer, *Darstellung aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* (Leipzig 1864, vol. ii. 105 ff.).

[2] Smend (Stade's *Zeitschrift*, ii. 95, 105).

[3] Some such custom is clearly indicated by expressions like "the oak of the sorcerers, teachers" (Judg. iv. 4, ix. 6, 37; Josh. xxiv. 26; 1 Sam. xiv. 2, xxii. 6; 1 Kings xii.), or "the Dragon-well" (Neh. ii. 13; the spirit as the water-serpent, Stade).

built their ancient shrines. Altars on artificial mounds, frequently connected with real temples (houses on mounds),[1] were the ordinary places of worship in the Hamitic nature-religion, which, in fact, paid special reverence to the generative power of nature.[2] Idols in really human form do not appear to have been used in the olden time. But faith in the effective power and presence of the Deity was readily connected with sacred stones which were anointed with oil,[3] or with specially prominent and evergreen trees in which the vital forces of nature were revealed, and eventually with artificial wooden pillars and posts (Asheras), which were meant to symbolise the organ of generation.

How many of these customs the Israelites practised before they got possession of Canaan, cannot now be definitely ascertained. It is probable that the God of Israel was originally worshipped in a simpler way, perhaps merely with an altar erected on a consecrated site,[4] and that his actual visible presence was conceived of as confined to Sinai. But as far back as we can trace the early ideas of Israel, we already find in Canaan a great variety of shrines and images; and it is only in the eyes of a much later age that this appears to be a culpable falling away from purity of worship.[5] The older forms of sacred legend represent the shrines of Bethel, Shechem, Hebron, Lachai-roi, and Beersheba as places consecrated to national worship by appearances and

[1] במה (*βῶμος* ?). The worship at the high places was certainly Canaanitish (Ex. xxxiv. 10; Num. xxxiii. 52; Deut. xii. 2, 30; Ezek. xvi. 20), and the worship of Jehovah displaced at these the worship of the gods of the country. At Shechem and Gibeon this transition is effected almost in the full light of history (Wellh. i. 18).

[2] In the Chaldean worship of the mother of the gods these artificial mounds constantly form the substructure for the funeral-pile of Hercules-Sandan, and refer originally to Priapus-worship.

[3] Gen. xxviii. etc. *βαιτύλια*.

[4] Ex. xx. 24 ff. (the circle of stones at Gilgal, Josh. iv. 7).

[5] Already in Deut. xii. 8 ff., and in the later revision of the book of Kings, 1 Kings xii. 31, xiv. 23, xv. 14, xxii. 11, 44; 2 Kings xii. 3, xiv. 4, xv. 4, 35. Especially natural in A, Josh. xxii. 10 ff., 29.

revelations of Jehovah, and by the prayers and sacrifices of the patriarchs.[1] Bethel, in particular, with its sacred pillar of stone, is represented as the chief sanctuary of Israel in patriarchal times.[2] Sinai and Hermon are extolled as holy mountains.[3] Under the oaks and terebinths of Canaan, beside the springs of Beersheba and Lachai-roi, the patriarchs dwelt and worshipped Jehovah.[4] The judges, as well as Samuel, David, and Solomon, take their sacrificial meals[5] on "the high places," where, as at Hebron and Shechem, the fathers lie entombed; or where, as at Gilgal and Shiloh, memories of the nation's great heroic age still survive; or where the natural situation of the place points upwards, as at Mizpah the Wartburg, or Ramah the height, or Gibeah the hill.[6]

Leading families meet together at the original family seat, as at Ophra, Hebron, and Bethlehem, to offer family sacrifice.[7] On Ebal Joshua builds an altar, and in Shechem he has a sanctuary.[8] In Mizpah and Bochim the congregation assembles for prayer and sacrifice.[9] Gideon and Jephthah, Samuel and Saul, sacrifice at the places which are the centres of their power and activity, in the land east of Jordan, as well as on the mountains of Judah and Ephraim.[10] No one forbids Micah to set up a chapel in his own house; and when the tribe of Dan secures by conquest a strong tribal city, its first care is to get a sanctuary, with a priest and an oracle.[11] David has a place of prayer on the Mount of Olives; and in honour of the angel he builds an altar beside the

[1] Gen. xii. 7, 8, xvi. 14, xxi. 28, xxviii. 10 ff.; Amos vii. 14; Hos. iv. 15.
[2] Gen. xxviii. (the tithe).
[3] Judg. v. 4; cf. Ps. xxxvi. 7, lxviii. 16 (civ. 16).
[4] Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 18, xviii. 4, xxi. 33, xxiv. 62.
[5] 1 Sam. ix. 12 ff.; 1 Kings iii. 3 ff.
[6] Gen. xxxv. 8; Judg. xvi. 1; 1 Sam. vii. 5, 16, ix. 12 ff., x. 3, 8, xi. 15, xiv. 35, xv. 21.
[7] Judg. viii. 23 ff.; 1 Sam. xx. 6; 2 Sam. xv. 7. [8] Josh. xxiv. 25.
[9] Judg. ii. 5, xx. 1, 18, 27, xxi. 2, 4.
[10] Judg. vi. 24 f., xi. 11 f.; 1 Sam. ix. 12 f. etc.
[11] Judg. xvii. 18, xviii. 19 ff.

threshing-floor of Araunah with as little hesitation as the patriarchs ever showed.[1] Adonijah gives his sacrificial feast at the spring of Rogel, Absalom his at Hebron. Solomon sacrifices at the great high place at Gibeon, and there Jehovah appears to him.[2] In short, just as the whole land, being Israel's possession, is Jehovah's house,[3] people are convinced that they may worship Him at any place within it at which He makes Himself known. Accordingly, the oldest code of laws prescribes nothing more than the building of a simple altar to God "wherever He should record His name."[4] Even the later historian, who decidedly disapproves of such freedom of sacrifice, and the Deuteronomist whose main object is to establish a single sanctuary, frankly admit that, prior to the building of the temple, the exercise of discretion in this matter was nothing unusual.[5] Isaiah also prophesies of an altar to Jehovah in Egypt, obviously quite unconscious that it would be against the law to worship at such an altar.[6]

In these holy places the presence of God was symbolised in a variety of ways. In essentials, no doubt, ancestral customs were followed, but there was also a tendency towards Canaanitish rites, which were foreign to the religion of Israel. The worship of a real individual image of God always remained foreign to Israel and its kindred nations. But in the worship at Bethel, when B and C were written, the sacred "stone of Jacob," as a memorial of God's presence, must have been the chief sacred object,[7] just as the sacred

[1] 2 Sam. xv. 32, xxiv. 25.

[2] 2 Sam. xv. 7, 12; 1 Kings i. 9, iii. 3 ff. Chronicles excuses this on the ground that the tabernacle was there (2 Chron. i. 3 ff.; 1 Chron. xxi. 29).

[3] Hos. viii. 1, ix. 3 ff.; 2 Kings v. 17.

[4] Ex. xx. 24 ff. Compare with this the narrative of Josh. xxii., which shows the utmost anxiety to shield the "altar" of the tribes to the east of the Jordan from the suspicion of being a "sacrificial altar!"

[5] 1 Kings iii. 2, 3 (viii. 16); Deut. x. (1 Sam. ix., x.).

[6] Isa. xix. 19. Even Deut. xxvii. 5 ff. still admits the possibility of erecting altars in exceptional cases outside the sanctuary (B. J. lxvi. 1 ff. points perhaps to the last struggle in this connection).

[7] Gen. xxxi. 45, 51, xxviii. (xlix. 24?); 1 Sam. vi. 14, xiv. 33.

circle of stones at Gilgal also points to a national symbolism.[1] Mazzebahs and Asheras, artificial constructions of stone and tree, were never in Israel necessary adjuncts of the national worship.[2] But, obviously, their use was not considered, even at a later period, at all reprehensible or incompatible with the worship of Jehovah. But it is absolutely beyond a doubt that in many sanctuaries, *although not in the national one*, Jehovah Himself was unhesitatingly worshipped under the form of an ox, *i.e.* as the life-giving power. It is true that in some passages the particular kind of image is not actually stated.[3] But from the narrative of the journey through the wilderness,[4] and from the practice in the great national sanctuaries of the northern kingdom,[5] of which there is frequent proof down to the time of the Exile, it is certain enough that one can think only of the above-mentioned symbol of God.

The oldest and most highly-prized national symbol of Jehovah's presence was in those days undoubtedly the ark of Jehovah, which excluded from the national sanctuary every other symbol of God. It can scarcely have contained from the days of Moses, as "the law" declares, the ten commandments as the covenant-contract of Israel with his God. For apart from the fact that our ten commandments, with their stern prohibition of every visible representation of Jehovah, can hardly have been regarded at that time as indispensable conditions without which no one could belong to God, this whole conception is much more akin to the spirit of the times in which "the law" was considered the holiest thing that Israel possessed than to that of the primitive age which strove to assure itself of the protecting presence of its God in a way as convincing to the senses as possible. What-

[1] Josh. iv. 9; cf. Ex. xxiv. 4 (Cromlechs).
[2] Hos. iii. 4, x. 2; Isa. xix. 19.
[3] Judg. viii. 26, xvii., xviii.
[4] Ex. xxxii. 8.
[5] Especially 1 Kings xii. 28; Hos. xiii. 2.

ever the ark may have contained, people certainly believed that, wherever it was, there they had God Himself present. Wherever it halted they sacrificed as at a holy place. When it went forth with their armies it was believed that victory was certain.[1] And it was thought that, being identified with the presence of the holy God, it must bring death and judgment upon the foe and upon all unconsecrated persons.[2] Hence it was called the ark of Jehovah, and also, perhaps, from the priestly oracle attached to it, the ark of revelation. It is only the later writers who soften the expression into "the ark of the covenant."[3]

Now this ark of the covenant gave any spot on which it stood[4] the distinction of being the true national sanctuary. It was not, it is true, enclosed in a tabernacle such as A describes. No matter what apologists may say, a comparison of the exertions required for building Solomon's temple[5] shows that a magnificent structure, such as we find depicted by A, cannot have been erected by a band of roving shepherds, even though laden with the spoils of Egypt. But, above all, it would have been as impossible for Israel to take the ark of the covenant out of a Holy of holies, such as A imagines, as out of Solomon's temple, and carry it off to the wars, to remain away perhaps for years. Besides, in the narrative of the building of the temple, there is no allusion to a sanctuary having been previously constructed at God's command and according to a divine pattern, which the pious builder of the temple must have felt constrained to copy closely.[6]

[1] 1 Sam. iv. 5 ff.; 2 Sam. xi. 11. [2] 1 Sam. vi. 14, 19.

[3] Wellhausen, 404.

[4] 1 Sam. i.–iii., vi., vii. 1 (Shiloh, Beth-shemesh, Kirjath-jearim), 2 Sam. vi. (Zion).

[5] Even though we set aside the representation in Chronicles, still we are face to face with a strain which exhausts the nation at the time of its greatest prosperity. What sums were required for a plain chapel is shown by Judg. viii. 24 ff., xvii. 2.

[6] Compare the original simple narrative, 1 Kings vi. (The mention of "the tabernacle," viii. 4, is inserted for an obvious purpose); 2 Chron. i. 3 ff. naturally knows of the tabernacle.

Moreover, 2 Sam. vii. 2 knows only of the ark dwelling within curtains, and regards the tabernacle made by David as quite in keeping with the ancient custom. And the older narrative in the Pentateuch knows only of a simple tent, without any special sanctity, in which the ark was kept.[1] The tabernacle in A is an ideal expression for the holy place in Israel. The description of it is not a delineation of an actual thing, but a depicting of religious thoughts borrowed from Solomon's temple.

But the tabernacle, the plain structure like a nomad's tent in which the sacred ark was kept,[2] became, in the time of the Judges, a more strongly constructed sanctuary in the territory of the ruling tribe at Shiloh. And this sanctuary was the place of the national worship and of the national priesthood. It is expressly called a house of God, a palace;[3] and the worship was carried on by priests, servants, and attendant women,[4] and had a definite ritual, important privileges, and large revenues.[5] As yet no particular respect was paid to this building. At least neither the sitting-rooms nor the bed-rooms of the high priest and his servants appear to have been at any distance from the ark of God.[6] Still it was the spiritual centre of Israel. It is quite clear that its main importance for the people lay in its having the oracle of God, which they believed only a priest with an ephod could use. It was such an oracle as Micah and the Danites were in search of, when they also furnished their sanctuaries with an ephod. After the destruction of Nob, David

[1] Ex. xxxiii. 7. We must think of a tent such as Burkhardt saw among the Turcomans (Reisen, vol. ii. p. 1000), or still better, of the Sheik's tent on the Square at Tantah as described by Bovet (*Reise in das gelobte Land übers. von Jänisch*, 1866),—standing in the middle of the camp, with two apartments and an uncovered court for people to assemble in, and so "a tent of meeting."

[2] Ex. xxxiii. 7, cf. xxxv. ff.

[3] Judg. xviii. 31, xix. 18 היכל; 1 Sam. i. 9. According to 2 Sam. vii. 6, indeed, God must have dwelt constantly within "curtains."

[4] Samuel as משרת, 1 Sam. iii.; the women, 1 Sam. ii. 22.

[5] 1 Sam. ii. 13 ff. [6] 1 Sam. iii. 1 ff.

welcomed the priest with the ephod to his camp.[1] After Eli's unsuccessful war with the Philistines, the sanctuary at Shiloh is obviously no longer in existence. Some centuries later, it is true, the place Shiloh is again mentioned, and indeed it still exists in ruins under the name Seilûn. But it does not follow that it was not destroyed at that time and robbed of its temple. If that were not so, why was the ark of God not taken back to it?[2] Why throughout the whole history of Samuel is this, the place of his youth, never once mentioned again? Why did Jeroboam connect his new places of worship with the sanctuaries at Bethel and Dan, but not with Shiloh?[3]

The remains of this priesthood we next find at Nob, where Saul dealt it a fatal blow. There, too, there was a well-built house in which, for instance, the sword of Goliath was preserved, and in which there was room for fugitives and for such as were under vows. We also incidentally see, from the narrative, that there was in the sanctuary a table with shew-bread, which was renewed daily, and then became the priests', but which could, in exceptional cases, be given to one not a priest, provided he were "clean."[4] But since this shrine had not the ark of the covenant, it certainly never became very important. When David brought the ark into his own city, at first only to a tent, the sacred character of Jerusalem was definitely settled. This was confirmed by the building of the temple on the site already consecrated by the sacrifices which David had offered. At first, however, this had no more effect in causing the other holy places to fall into disuse than the sanctuary at Shiloh had previously had.

9. If any one wishes to get a true idea of the conduct expected in ancient Israel of a just, straightforward, pious, and sensible man, he must not turn his attention first to the commandments in the Pentateuch, least of all to

[1] 1 Sam. xiv. 37, xxi. 1; 2 Sam. ii. 1; 1 Kings iv. 4.
[2] 1 Sam. vii. 2.
[3] 1 Kings xi. 29, xiv. 2 (Jer. vii. 12, xxvi. 6 ff.).
[4] 1 Sam. xxi. 5 ff.

their final form as given in A. Written commandments can scarcely have had much influence in early times; and where they had, they can only have been very simple directions as to national customs. We must first of all study the ideal figures of the patriarchs, and the traits particularly prominent in the greatest religious characters of the earlier ages, and then carefully note which sides of the moral nature are most frequently and distinctly dealt with in the oldest songs and proverbs.

The root of all morality is the fear of God.[1] All true moral action is briefly summed up in these simple words: to walk faithfully, justly, and honestly "before God" and "with God."[2] From this spring the virtues characteristic of genuine morality, viz. humility,[3] gentleness,[4] pity[5] even for animals,[6] long-suffering and patience,[7] filial affection.[8] To do intentional injury to one who might become an enemy would not be right.[9] To do anything unjust[10] or deceitful[11] would be wrong. Drunkenness is condemned, for "wine is a mocker,"[12] also unchastity,[13] and pride.[14] A corner in grain, and usury in general, is specially abhorred.[15] To rejoice at another's misfortune is censurable. In fact, it is considered wrong to return evil for evil.[16] It becomes an Israelite[17] to be truthful, and to abstain from slandering his neighbour, in a word to show "mercy and truth."[18] Such

[1] Ex. i. 17, 21, ix. 20, xviii. 21; Gen. xxii. 15 ff., xlii. 18; cf. Prov. xiv. 2, 26, xv. 16, xix. 23; cf. Prov. xvi. 3, xx. 22.
[2] Gen. v. 22, vi. 9, xvii. 1; 1 Kings iii. 6.
[3] Prov. xviii. 12, xxii. 4.
[4] Prov. xi. 25, xix. 17, xiv. 31, xvii. 5, xxi. 13, xxii. 9.
[5] Prov. xiv. 21.
[6] Prov. xii. 10.
[7] Prov. xiv. 29 f., xix. 11.
[8] Prov. xix. 26, xx. 20 (Ps. xv. 4).
[9] Ps. vii. 5.
[10] Prov. xviii. 5.
[11] Prov. xi. 1, xx. 10, 23.
[12] Prov. xx. 1.
[13] Prov. xxii. 14.
[14] Prov. xi. 2, xiii. 10, xvi. 5, 18, xxi. 4.
[15] Prov. xi. 26 (Ps. xv. 5).
[16] Prov. xx. 22.
[17] Prov. x. 18, xii. 17, 19; Ps. xv. 4.
[18] חסד ואמת, Prov. xiv. 22, xvi. 6 (חסד contrasted with cruelty, Prov. xiv. 7); cf. Gen. xxiv. 49, xlvii. 29; Josh. ii. 12, 14 (1 Sam. xxvi. 23); 2 Sam. xv. 20 (of God, 2 Sam. ii. 6) (in Ps. xii. 2 חסיד and אמונים are parallel).

conduct is better than sacrifice.[1] Honest dealing brings happiness; for poverty with love is better than riches with hatred.[2] Marriage is represented in Gen. ii. as a divinely appointed union of equals for life-long help, although the right of the husband to rule is distinctly asserted. The servile position of woman is due to sin.

The description we get of the ideal figures also corresponds in the main with these fundamental characteristics. Abraham is represented as being as pious as he is magnanimous; unselfish, brave, faithful to the duties of kinship, as well as to every covenant he enters into.[3] To avoid a quarrel with his kinsman, he generously gives up his own right.[4] Being fair and upright, he does not allow the rights of his spouse to be infringed, even when his heart yearns for the handmaid who has borne him an heir.[5] He shows himself hospitable and polite to the angels,[6] just as his nephew Lot also displays a hospitality which is ready to sacrifice life and honour in defence of a guest.[7] His gentle and merciful disposition makes him pray earnestly even for Sodom on the eve of its destruction.[8] In a word, as we are told in the style of a later age, he kept the commandments and statutes of God, and taught his descendants to keep them.[9] He is the beau ideal of true morality. Elsewhere, in the patriarchal legend, filial reverence is specially emphasised,[10] and woman is praised for her readiness to serve and for her chastity.[11] And in the history we meet with the fiercest indignation against insolent violation of female honour and of the law of hospitality.[12] The relations with servants appear to have been mild and humane.[13] That woman had a somewhat free position, in

[1] Prov. xxi. 3, cf. xv. 8, xxi. 27.
[2] Prov. xv. 16 f., xvii. 1.
[3] Gen. xiv. 14 ff., 20 ff.
[4] Gen. xiii. 8.
[5] Gen. xvi. 6 (xxi. 12).
[6] Gen. xviii. 2 ff.
[7] Gen. xix. 1 ff. (cf. Judg. xix. 23).
[8] Gen. xviii. 23 ff.
[9] Gen. xviii. 19 (xxvi. 5, 24).
[10] Gen. ix. 23.
[11] Gen. xxiv. 17 ff., 65 f.
[12] Judg. xix. 30.
[13] Gen. xxiv., cf. xiv. 14, xv. 2.

comparison with the slavish condition of Oriental wives in later times, is proved by figures like Miriam, Deborah, Abigail, and the virgin in Canticles.[1] We must likewise bear in mind David's wonderful submission to the divine will,[2] his heroic readiness to take God's wrath upon himself, that it might not fall upon his people,[3] his humble submission to the word of God,[4] his sorrow at the death even of his rebellious son,[5] his magnanimity and his respect for God's anointed,[6] and his touching friendship unto death for Jonathan.[7] His strong sense of equity shows itself in the way he divides the spoil.[8] Breaches of the law and of usage, even though by a royal offender, constantly excite fierce indignation in Israel.[9] The true king of Israel takes the field in defence of "truth, and meekness, and righteousness."[10]

This moral ideal, so far as we are able to judge, became more and more spiritual down to the Assyrian period, but it did not change. In later times also the greatest stress is laid upon filial affection.[11] In the Book of Ruth we get a view of the marriage relationship as naïve and free as it is morally strict.[12] The model housewife is shown us in Prov. xxxi. 10–31, and such a faithful performance of duty is regarded as the fear of God (ver. 30). The rights of the poor, of widows, orphans, and strangers are everywhere looked upon as sacred.[13] "Wisdom" warns against unchastity, deceit, causeless strife, falsehood, and mischief-making,[14] and persuades to "mercy and truth."[15] And Job describes his own character in a particularly instructive manner. Without

[1] Ex. xv. 20; Judg. iv. 4, xi. 34; 1 Sam. xxv.
[2] 2 Sam. xv. 25, xvi. 11 ff., xxiv. 14.
[3] 2 Sam. xxiv. 17.
[4] 2 Sam. vii. 18, xii. 13, xv. 23.
[5] 2 Sam. xix. 1.
[6] 1 Sam. xxiv.
[7] 1 Sam. xviii. 3, xx. 8, 16, 42, xxiii. 16 ff.; 2 Sam. i. 26; Prov. xviii. 24.
[8] 1 Sam. xxx. 23 ff.
[9] 2 Sam. xii.; 1 Kings xxi. 19.
[10] Ps. xlv. 5, 8.
[11] Ruth i. 16 (Deut. xxi. 18 ff.; Ezek. xxii. 7 ff.).
[12] Ruth ii. 20, iii. 1 ff., 9, 12, iv. 3 ff., 10, 14 (Ps. cxxvii. 3; Ezek. xviii. 5 ff.).
[13] Ps. xxxvii. 12, 21, 26, xli. 2 ff.; Amos ii. 6, v. 12; Deut. xxii. 28 ff.
[14] Prov. iii. 29, iv. 24 ff., v. 3 ff., vi. 12, 14, 20, 24 ff., vii. 5 ff., viii. 13.
[15] Prov. iii. 3, 27, viii. 7.

hypocrisy and fearing no man, strictly pure even in thought; a terror to the scorner, devoted to the cause of the oppressed and the poor; strictly just towards inferiors, from a full consciousness that, as men, they have the same rights as himself; even towards an enemy neither malicious nor malevolent, charitable even to forgetfulness of self; such is his sketch of the ideal just man.[1] And in a long array of psalms we meet with the self-same picture of the unselfish upright man, who never oppresses, and is the sworn foe of usury and deceit.[2]

While the moral ideal of Mosaism is in many respects similar to that of prophetism, it nevertheless shows important dissimilarities, even in reference to the features just mentioned, not to speak of its divergences from a perfect morality. Many characteristics are mentioned without censure as being quite common among men in the highest position, which show how hard it is for a real morality to force its way even in theory through the customs of a national life, that has just grown up naturally and is anything but highly developed. I shall briefly refer to what has been already mentioned. It is not considered anything extraordinary for a man to be a coward, deceitful to strangers,[3] or unfaithful as a husband.[4] Excessive indulgence in wine is mentioned as a thing to be expected at a feast.[5] An act of violence excites no surprise.[6] Sexual licence is regarded as so natural that not only is it mentioned in the case of Samson the Nazirite without censure,[7] but it lies at the foundation of the whole story of

[1] Job xxix. 12–17, xxxi.

[2] Ps. xv., xxiv., xxxiv. 14 ff., xxxvii. 21, 26, xli. 2, cxii. 4, 9, cxxxiii.; Prov. xi. 26, xvii. 14, xx. 10; Isa. xxxiii. 15 ff. In Ezek. xviii. 5 ff., xxii. 5 ff., xxxiii. 25, more emphasis is already laid on Levitical purity.

[3] Gen. xii. 13 ff., xxvi. 7 ff., xxvii. 6 ff. (It is only the fear of being discovered that makes Jacob hesitate, not moral considerations.)

[4] Gen. xvi., xxx. 18 (the giving of the handmaid to be concubine is considered a meritorious act. Marriage itself, *i.e.* the husband's right of possession, is considered all the more sacred), Gen. xx. 3, 6, xxxix. 10, 12; the disagreeable story in 1 Kings i. 1 ff.

[5] Gen. ix. 21, 24, xliii. 34; 2 Sam. xi. 13.

[6] Judg. xviii. 7 ff., 24 ff.

[7] Judg. xvi. 1, etc.

Judah and Tamar, as the natural assumption on which Tamar's scheme is based.[1] So inveterate is violence on the part of a blood-avenger that it can only be hallowed and regulated, not abolished.[2] Cruelty in war is regarded as a matter of course.[3] Men exult quite openly in revenge and treachery.[4] The magnanimity of David who does not forget, even as regards his arch-enemy, the respect due to "God's anointed" is regarded as something quite extraordinary.[5] That he loves those who hate him is actually reckoned a proof that he is not to be trusted.[6] Even he rejoices over Nabal's death,[7] and on his very death-bed he seeks vengeance on his enemies.[8] Suicide, without being exactly described as morally justifiable, is nevertheless mentioned with all the frankness characteristic of the ancient point of view.[9] David's dreadful robber-raids from Ziklag, and his alliance with the national foe, are thought quite natural, as well as his determination to destroy the whole family of Nabal, simply because he had refused to pay black-mail to the outlawed freebooter.[10] In short, in the ideal actually regarded by the people as representing a high morality, many traits of a strong, uncorrupted, but rough nationality of a thoroughly Oriental type were combined with the fundamental thoughts of a higher religion. This is particularly well seen from the way in which the very word which denotes the highest religious and moral wisdom can also be employed to denote mere worldly shrewdness and, in fact, artful cunning.[11]

The early narratives know nothing of a comprehensive

[1] Gen. xxxviii. 15 ff., 20, 21.
[2] Gen. ix.; Num. xxxv. 6 ff.; Josh. xx. (2 Sam. iii. 27, xiv. 7, 11).
[3] 1 Kings xi. 16; Judg. i. 6; 2 Sam. xii. 31, viii. 2.
[4] Judg. iii. 20 f., iv. 12, 17, v. 25 ff. (Ps. xli. 11).
[5] 1 Sam. xxiv. 20.
[6] 2 Sam. xix. 6. Still there is in this case also the justifiable censure that David sets his private grief above the public weal.
[7] 1 Sam. xxv. 39.
[8] 1 Kings ii. 5 ff., 8 (Ps. iii. 8).
[9] Judg. ix. 54, xvi. 29 ff.; 1 Sam. xxxi. 4 ff.; 2 Sam. xvii. 23.
[10] 1 Sam. xxvii. 9, xxv. 13 ff.
[11] 2 Sam. xiii. 3, xiv. 2, xx. 16; cf. Prov. xi. 15, xiii. 3 f., xvii. 18, xx. 2, 16.

moral law of God for the ancestors of Israel. It is in A that we first find the significant formulæ:[1] to be blameless, and to walk before God and with God, *i.e.* so that the presence of God may always give the life the right direction. But the oldest form of the account we have received of the making of the covenant on Sinai already sums up in the classical form of the ten commandments the religious and moral demands which result from the holiness of the people, from its dedication to the holy God. This series of commands runs like a text in various forms all through the middle books of the Pentateuch, and in the prophetic law it is made the sacred foundation of Israelitish morality.[2] The "decalogue" form was undoubtedly intended from the first,[3] and on fuller examination similar "decalogues" are found elsewhere also in the law-books. Hence Goethe already noticed that Ex. xxxiv. 10 ff. contains a decalogue. So does Deut. xxvii. 15 ff., as soon as one combines the prohibitions in vers. 22 and 23 of marriage with a sister and with a mother-in-law.

Now the idea that our decalogue actually goes right back to Moses, and was from the beginning the fundamental law of Israel, is one so closely connected with the traditional view of the Old Testament that it goes sorely against the grain to give it up. But it will always remain impossible to explain how the worship of God, by means of images, as was the unopposed custom in all Israel before the time of Solomon, and in the northern kingdom till its fall, can be reconciled with the hypothesis of such a fundamental law being in existence. And that will, at any rate, raise the question whether the combination *in this form* of the fundamental thoughts of Old Testament morality was not originally the product of an age in which the worship of God without images in the national sanctuary had to struggle against the customs natural to earlier times. That will be

[1] Gen. v. 22, vi. 9, xvii. 1.
[2] Deut. v. 6 ff.
[3] Ex. xxxiv. 28 (Deut. iv. 13, x. 4). For the Greek title, cf. Geffken, p. 9.

the more readily acknowledged as possible, if it is borne in mind that the commandment about the Sabbath in Ex. xx. certainly lies before us in a form that has been influenced by A. One might then assume that the oldest compilations of the national laws, somewhat after the manner of Ex. xxxiv. (which, it is true, also forbids molten images), must have been directed more to the details of sacred usage,[1] and that an age of more self-conscious and concentrated religious feeling first substituted this enduring model for the more imperfect forms. But, at all events, these ten commandments give the moral ideas of the Mosaic religion an expression as brief as it is exhaustive, and the leading ideas in them certainly agree with what Israel was accustomed, even in those days, to regard as Jehovah's will: to serve no other God but Jehovah; to abstain from the worship of idols; not to take God's name in vain; to keep His Sabbath; to show honour to parents, and respect to life, marriage, and the property of one's neighbour, and to abstain from all intrigues against him even when seemingly legitimate.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD, 800–630 B.C.

1. Towards the end of the ninth century the prosperous state of things which seemed in the time of David and Solomon to contain within it all the conditions necessary for the ideal development of the kingdom of God, was broken up bit by

[1] There the extermination of the Canaanites, the redemption of the first-born, the feast of unleavened bread, the prohibition of molten images, the three annual feasts, the Sabbath, the prohibition of leaven in the sacrifices, and against leaving anything over from the Passover meal, the offering of firstlings, and the command not to seethe a kid in its mother's milk, are all mentioned at the making of the covenant as fundamental laws. (Cf. Wellhausen, *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1876, 4, p. 551 ff.)

bit. When the unity of the kingdom ceased, and with it unity of worship, the idea of Israel as "the people of God" either disappeared altogether, or was reduced to such small proportions that it seemed but the shadow of its former glory. In the northern kingdom there prevailed a sensuous adoration of Jehovah,[1] along with actual worship of Baal and Ashera, a worship which rapidly developed under the influence of the victorious neighbour peoples.[2] The powerful guilds of prophets that had flourished under the leadership of Elijah and Elisha had perished. The kings of Israel, who looked at things from a purely political standpoint, could no longer tolerate such fanatical advocates of Jehovah. We now meet with prophets of a different stamp. These perceive that it is impossible for the people to remain longer in the religious vagueness which had hitherto satisfied them, and that deliverance can be achieved only by the restoration of national unity, and by adherence to the spiritual, non-idolatrous worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem.

To these men Baal, as a name of God, becomes unendurable, and every comparison of the religion of Jehovah with the Semitic nature-religion a sin.[3] For that very reason, however, their work in the northern kingdom is no longer encouraged but hindered. Henceforth they labour at great personal risk, and encounter many obstacles.[4] Most of them come, though only for a time, from Judah, in order to make a last effort to save the degraded sister-kingdom.[5] In the southern kingdom we see civil mishaps of every sort, perhaps

[1] In Gilgal, Bethel, Dan, and Beersheba in Judah, Hos. viii. 4, 5, x. 5 ; Amos iv. 5, v. 5, viii. 14. Amos and Hosea do not reckon it a worshipping of Jehovah at all. For them Beth-El has become Beth-Aven. But the high priest at Bethel is called Amaziah, that is to say, he is a priest of Jehovah. On the religious Syncretism which Hosea takes for granted, cf. Duhm, p. 128 f.

[2] Hos. i.–iii., iv. 11 ff., ix., xi. 2, xiii. 1.

[3] Hos. iv. 11, viii. 5, xiii. 1, 2, xiv. 4.

[4] *E.g.* Hos. iv. 4 ; Amos vii. 10 ff. ; Zech. xi. 4 ff.

[5] So Amos vii. 14, cf. i. 1 ; Zech. xi. 4, 17. On the other hand, Hosea appears to belong by birth to northern Israel (i. 3–11, v. 1, xi. 1, xii. 1, etc.).

even temporary subjection to Israel,[1] but nevertheless a continued attachment, not only to the old ideal of religion in David's family, which once more possessed, in rulers like Uzziah and Jotham, good vigorous members, but also to the non-idolatrous worship of God in the temple at Jerusalem.[2] This city now begins to prove itself more and more the all-powerful centre of the little kingdom, although, it is true, idolatry raises its shameless head close beside the temple in which the name of Jehovah is named, and moral aberrations of every sort make their appearance in the prosperous capital as it grows into a great commercial centre.

It was a time of sad declension, when it was very natural that men should either look back with longing eyes to the glories of the past or turn an eager gaze towards the ideal of a better future. The ancient glory of the nation was now described with special delight. The history of the patriarchs and of the Mosaic age was by this time completed, at least as regards its older constituent parts. By the union of B and C these were now put, at any rate for the time being, into a finished literary form. The prophets of this age, too, such as Hosea, show a particularly lively interest in the happy time of Israel's youth.[3] The figure of David, the great hero-king, was now painted in brighter colours than ever, his youth especially being surrounded with a halo of poetry. The great men of God in the northern kingdom, Elijah and Elisha, were now set before the eyes of the people in splendid pictures of marvellous sublimity. And at the same time men began, with a glow of ardour never felt before, to hope that still more glorious days were in store for Israel in an age of ideal perfection; and it was with the house of David, despite its

[1] *E.g.* 2 Kings viii. 20 ff., xii. 17 f., xiv. 11 ff., etc.
[2] On the merits of the priesthood at Jerusalem, cf. Kuenen, i. 337 ff.
[3] Hos. x. 9, xi. 1, xii. 3 f. (Isa. i. 9 f.).

present low estate, that this hope became ever more and more closely associated.[1]

It was certainly a time when it was still possible to hope that the salvation of the future might develop, without violent revolution, out of existing circumstances, and that after a long succession of divine punishments, and especially after the break-up of the despotic monarchy in the north, a new Davidic age might again arrive. In the northern kingdom men looked with hopeful eyes to the southern, which was at times at least in a relatively healthier condition;[2] while in the southern they hoped to see, as soon as ever the repentance and faith of the people rendered the mercy of God possible, the sun of the new era shining out from behind the passing clouds of divine chastisement. As long as the enemies of the two Israelitish kingdoms were only petty States, really not a whit more powerful than either of the two taken separately; as long as Egypt was reduced to impotence by internal dissension, and the petty neighbouring kingdoms mentioned by Amos were the only foes,[3] the terribly serious, nay the inexorable, character of the divine judgment was never fully realised. It was very different when, in the plenitude of imperial power, Assyria confronted Israel on the stage of history. It then became evident to all who were taught of God that God's ways with this people were rapidly nearing the final catastrophe, that the Israel of the present had been weighed in the balances and found wanting.

2. The first time Assyria played an important part in Israel's history was when king Pul (Tiglath-Pileser) turned his victorous arms against Menahem, king of Israel, about 768 B.C.[4] This first blow did the northern kingdom irreparable damage. It never recovered its former strength. Compelled to take sides with one or other of the world

[1] Hos. iii. 5, vi. 1 ff., xiii. 14, xiv. 1 ff.; Amos ix. 11 ff.
[2] Hos. iii. 5, iv. 15; Amos ix. 11; Zech. ix. 7 ff.
[3] Amos i. 3 ff., vi. 2 ff.
[4] 2 Kings xv. 19; 1 Chron. xv. 6–17.

empires, it oscillated with pitiable indecision between Assyria and Egypt, and thus brought down on itself all the more heavily the suspicion and vengeance of the great king. Internal dissensions shattered the national strength. The wildest disorder, terrible degeneracy, and utter dissolution of social bonds, were the results of this party strife, and of the State's short-sighted and vacillating policy.[1] To protect themselves from Assyria, the people entered into alliance with their former foes the Syrians, and breaking the peace with Judah, which it had taken so much trouble to make, they began a civil war.[2] The vengeance of Tiglath-Pileser was sudden and fell.[3] The northern kingdom was given up by Jehovah.[4] Ephraim had to die because of his apostasy from the true God.[5] Henceforth the holy people was in Judah alone. By the victorious campaign of Shalmaneser, an end was put to the convulsive struggles of the dying state.[6] Samaria fell into the hands of his successor, Sargon, at the very commencement of his reign. Death set in, that is, the dissolution of the State, and then mortification,—the scattering by exile of the individual atoms. That the mass of the lower classes remained behind, and subsequently formed the material for "Judaising" Galilee, and that under Assyrian suzerainty the country had still a certain autonomy, has no bearing on the religion of Israel.

Ephraim, however, although actually dead, still lived on in the hopes of the best. At a later stage, when the time of Judah's suffering began, men like Jeremiah and Ezekiel turned their eyes with special expectation and love towards that noble branch of Joseph which had been sold to the Gentiles, but must be again won back. Even Hosea could not bring himself to believe that the God who loved Ephraim would pronounce upon His people a final judgment of rejection.[7]

[1] *E.g.* Hos. iv. 8 ff., vii. ff.; Zech. xi. 8 ff. [2] Isa. vii.–xi.
[3] 2 Kings xv. 29. [4] Zech. xi. 9 ff. [5] Hos. xiii. 1 ff.
[6] 2 Kings xvii. 3 ff.
[7] Jer. iii. 10 ff., xxxi. 9, 15; Ezek. xxxvii.; cf. Hos. xi. 8, xiv. 2 ff.

Meantime the southern kingdom is in a plight almost equally sad. The remains of ancient power which had been wisely strengthened and husbanded by Uzziah and Jotham[1] are quickly lost under the childish and profligate rule of Ahaz.[2] While Jehovah is outwardly worshipped, idolatry and superstition of every sort grow rampant. Childish levity goes hand in hand with faint-heartedness and unbelief.[3] Even the appearance of independence is purchased only by shameful submission to the demands of the Assyrian empire. The son of David becomes an Assyrian vassal.[4] Hence Micah prophesies that even here no deliverance is possible save through death, while Isaiah foretells at least a sifting of the most terrible kind, when the land would be made waste and desolate.[5] Here also the end seems near.

Nevertheless in this case the end neither would nor could come as yet. In this small, humiliated, degraded people there were still at work forces of so powerful and divine a character that the old trunk could once more show signs of life. Hence Amos and Hosea already looked to Judah, full of hope and sympathy. But it is pre-eminently men like Isaiah who now become the saviours of the people. For the development of religion, this time of danger and distress, a time that stripped the splendid covering off many things hitherto greatly prized, proved to be of the very greatest and most far-reaching importance. Turning away from merely outward worship, which was seen to be but a worthless, hypocritical, and even blasphemous caricature, when combined, as it had been, with unblushing disloyalty to Jehovah, people began to have their attention directed to that which alone gives value to worship—to the worshipper's disposition, honesty, and faith. The mere outward performance of sacred rites had proved empty and hollow, where it could continue its hypocritical

[1] 2 Kings xiv. 21 ff., xv. 33 ff.
[2] 2 Kings xvi. (Isa. vii. ff.).
[3] Isa. i. 1 ff.; 2 Kings xvi. 2 f.
[4] 2 Kings xvi. 7 ff.
[5] Micah iii. 12; cf. Isa. vii. 17, 20; xxviii.-xxxii.

existence alongside of a degraded type of character. Hence the prophets insisted on singleness of moral purpose, on mercy and truth, and taught that the value of every individual act depends on what is the centre of the inner life. Old popular customs were transformed into prophetic law, which found incomparable expression in the moral teaching of the great prophets, and afterwards in Deuteronomy. For certain as it is that the earlier times were not under law in the Levitical sense, it is equally clear from the opposition of the oldest prophets that in its sacred customs, Israel had attached paramount value to feasts, sacrifices, vows, national assemblies, and forms of purification—not to precision of ritual observance in the sense of the Levitical law, but to the richness and splendour of the gifts, and to the magnificence of the feasts.[1] Hosea made it a matter of serious reproach that the priests gave the first place, not to the "Thorah," *i.e.* instruction regarding God's will, but to sacrifices.[2]

Resistance to the idolatry that was gradually gaining the upper hand, to the idols that were, through the external splendour of their worshippers, triumphing as it were over Jehovah, forced the better minds in Israel to a clearer consciousness that their own God was so different from the other gods as to be the only God. What had hitherto been rather an intuitive perception now became a doctrine clearly and consciously held. This age also witnessed the disappearance of the last trace of the theory that the God of Israel was merely higher in rank than the heathen gods, and that in other respects these were in the same category as He. It is in the sayings and writings of the great prophets that a full and clear exposition of monotheism is really found. Those who now saw in Jehovah nothing more than the

[1] Cf. *e.g.* Amos iv. 5 (thank-offerings of that which is leavened), v. 21, viii. 10; Hos. ii. 13, iii. 4, v. 6 ff., vi. 6, viii. 13, ix. 3, 4, 5, xii. 10; Isa. i. 11 ff., xxix. 1, xxx. 29 f.; Zech. ix. 7; Micah vi. 6; Nah. ii. 1; Jer. vii. 21; Joel i. 9 ff., ii. 14.

[2] Hos. iv. 6 ff., viii. 1.

national God could no longer consider Him mightier than the gods of Assyria. A choice had therefore to be made between real conscious monotheism and open worship of the victorious heathen gods. This monotheistic piety did not as yet, it is true, prevent the use of expressions due to theoretical particularism. In this respect the phraseology of the prophets is very free, just as they never hesitate to adorn their story with old mythological memories and metaphors.[1] Indeed, the use of such language continued as long as Israel retained a frank religious diction, instinct with life. Hence the God of Israel is extolled in choral song as the God who sits enthroned upon the cherubim, who inhabits the praises of Israel, who brought the people up out of Egypt, and who dwells on Mount Zion.[2] Faithfulness to Him is the first and great commandment. Every lapse of the people into idolatry is adultery.[3]

It is interesting to observe how, although Jeremiah considers the gods of the heathen to be no gods, he nevertheless praises them because they at least remain faithful to their own deities. In other words, the giving-up of the worship practised by one's fathers is in itself represented as impiety.[4] In like manner, even in the prophetic period, the existence of other Elohim, worshipped by other nations, is not expressly denied. Moab is called the people of Chemosh, Ammon the people of Milcom.[5] The host of heaven, as is said in Deuteronomy, God apportioned to all the peoples, but Israel He chose for Himself.[6] And according to the brilliant correction by de Goeje, it is said in Deut. xxxii. 8, 9, that the Most High divided and allotted the nations according to the number of the sons of God.[7] Even in the post-exilic Book of Ruth, to return to the people of Moab is the same as to return to

[1] So *e.g.* Job xxvi. 12 f. (Rahab, the fleeing serpent).

[2] Hos. xii. 10, xiii. 4; Micah iv. 5; Joel iv. 17; Ps. xxii. 4 (translated on the analogy of 1 Sam. iv. 4; Ps. lxxx. 2; Isa. xxxvii. 16).

[3] *E.g.* Hos. i.-iii.; Ezek. xvi.; Deut. v. 6 ff.; Isa. i. 21 ff., ii. 6.

[4] Jer. ii. 10, 11 (Dan. xi. 37 ff.) [5] Jer. xlviii. 46; xlix. 1. [6] Deut. iv. 19.

[7] Instead of ישראל read אל. In the Clementine Homilies xviii. 4, indeed the

the god of Moab, while to join Israel is to acknowledge Jehovah.[1]

But the God of Israel is not only, as a matter of course, addressed as the greatest and mightiest of the Elohim: "Who is like unto Jehovah whose inheritance Israel is? Who is like unto Thee among the gods? Where is there a nation whose god has redeemed it to himself, who has revealed himself to it without destroying it? He is the great King above all gods, the God of gods, the Lord of lords.[2] The gods of Egypt quake when, riding lightly on a cloud, He draws near their land as judge."[3] But side by side with this naïve language which continued in ordinary use long after this date, we also meet, from Amos onwards, with numerous undeniable proofs that the spiritual guides of this age were beginning, with philosophical perspicuity, to acknowledge Jehovah as a being, in comparison with whom the other Elohim are not gods at all, but mere phantom figures of the human spirit and the human hand. Thus we find, in Hos. viii. 6, an idol described as no-god, and considered as much the work of man as its image. Baal is called "shame," while Jehovah is spoken of as the living God.[4] In Amos the idols are called "lies," that is, beings which do not really bring help.[5] In Isaiah the idols are described as "Elilim," and indeed this was so common a phrase that the prophet even puts it into the mouth of an Assyrian.[6] Micah ridicules idols as the work of men's hands, and puts both gods and images in the same category.[7] But it would have been impossible for one

number seventy, as the number of the Israelites who immigrated into Egypt, is represented at the same time as the number of the nations.

[1] Ruth i. 15 ff., ii. 12.

[2] Amos ix. 1 ff.; Micah vii. 18; Zeph. iii. 15; Deut. xxxiii. 26; Jer. x. 6; cf. Ex. xv. 11, xviii. 11; Deut. iii. 21, 24, iv. 32 ff., x. 17; 2 Sam. vii. 23; 1 Kings viii. 23; Ps. xxxv. 10, lxxvii. 14, lxxxvi. 8 (still cf. ver. 10), cxxxv. 5 (still cf. vers. 15 ff.), xcv. 3, xcvi. 4, xcvii. 9, cxxxvi. 3; Joel ii. 17.

[3] Isa. xix. 1-3 (i. 29, ii. 18); Jer. xlvi. 25 (Ex. xii. 12; 2 Sam. vii. 22).

[4] Hos. ix. 10, ii. 1. [5] Amos ii. 1; ix. 6. [6] Isa. ii. 18, 20, x. 10, xix. 1, 3.

[7] Micah v. 12; cf. Isa. ii. 18.

holding the old view of polytheism to ridicule in this fashion even gods that he himself refused to worship.

Accordingly, in the prophets of the Assyrian period, Jehovah is already represented as One, beside whom there is no other, and, save whom, there is no Rock, no God.[1] In Amos it is Jehovah who brought Aram out of Kir as well as Israel out of Egypt, to whom the children of Israel are as the Ethiopians, and who will punish Moab for acting cruelly to the king of Edom.[2] How can any one be anxious to weaken such passages by pointing to "the more fully developed conception Amos has of God," as if we had to investigate anything else than the faith of the spiritual leaders of Israel, and as if Amos regarded his teaching as something novel! And how can any one imagine that in such sayings the government of the world is looked at solely in connection with Israel, when it is clear that the matter in question is the mutual relationship of two foreign peoples and the national destinies of the Syrians and the Philistines! Similarly in Zech. ix. 1, Jehovah is spoken of as He who has His eyes on all mankind. Isaiah represents Jehovah as using even Assyria at His pleasure, just as a workman uses his tools.[3] The question is put into the Assyrian's own mouth, "Have I come up against this land without the permission of Jehovah?"[4] In Micah, Jehovah is called the Lord of the whole earth,[5] as He is also in fact the Creator of the universe, at whose work all the sons of God shouted for joy.[6] And that the hope of Jehovah revealing Himself as Lord of the world, as God over all nations, as it is put in Isa. xix.–xxiii., was also quite common in the preceding age, we may well conclude after comparing Isa. ii. with Micah iv. Indeed, both of these passages point to an older source.

In those dark days, when it seemed as if the hard realities of the present would annihilate the old joyous confidence that

[1] Hos. xiii. 4; Isa. xxxvii. 20; 2 Kings xix. 15.
[2] Amos ii. 1, ix. 7.
[3] Isa. x. 5, 15.
[4] Isa. xxxvi. 10.
[5] Micah iv. 13.
[6] Gen. ii.; Ps. xxxiii. 6; Job xxxviii. 7.

victory and happiness would be the lot of those who remained true to God, the inexhaustible vigour of this religion reasserted itself. Believers triumphantly maintained that all the happiness of the wicked is but a phantom show, compared with the true prosperity of the godly; and that even where one cannot see, one may still, despite the sore conflict and temptations too great for human strength,[1] hold fast to the love and righteousness of God. When they looked back, these men saw that Israel's golden age had also been the age of fidelity to Jehovah. All suffering was seen to be punishment for idolatry. When they looked forward, the dark background of the present only made the hope shine out all the more brightly that Israel and the family of David would obtain a complete salvation.

3. In the kingdom of Judah there were thus powerful divine forces constantly at work. Indeed, religion was developed and deepened without innovation and without excitement by the spirit of Mosaism itself, which was a living force in the hearts of the men of God. These forces were so strong that they were not merely capable of surviving the death of Judah, to be the seeds of a better time, but they were actually able, before that death occurred, once more to beget a new life; and they made a period of deliverance possible, which in many respects reminds us of the fair prospects with which the nation started. And to this possibility the history of the world contributed.

Once more this ancient nation got a new lease of life. Upheld and guided by the spirit of the great prophets by whom he was surrounded, Hezekiah, a worthy descendant of David, undertook to reform the nation in the spirit in which it was founded by God. Not yet with definite reference to any codified law of Moses, like Josiah afterwards, but still, in faithful obedience to the traditional statutes and ordinances ascribed to Moses, he purified his people from the rankest

[1] Job, if the book belongs to this age.

growths of a corrupt worship and of impure customs. He probably did away with the pillars and the Asheras. At any rate he broke in pieces the brazen serpent, which was kept in the temple probably as symbolical of the god of healing.[1] True, even this king was at first sadly lacking in trustful devotion and in decision of character. However earnestly Isaiah might warn him against making treaties with Egypt, and rebelling against Assyria, thus endangering the breathing-time granted to the people for rest and recovery,—however distinctly he might promise that God would, in His providence, without any such means, point out the way of deliverance,[2] the king followed the advice of his nobles and the lying utterances of false prophets, and broke his oath. But when Sennacherib, king of Assyria, invaded the country, Hezekiah's courage failed him. In the most abject way he sued for peace. Then the tide of fortune turned. When the Assyrian proved treacherous, and sought to take possession of the country, even after the tribute which he had imposed had been paid, Isaiah became convinced that God would not now refuse to rescue His people from so insolent a tyrant, and counselled a resolute resistance. Once more miracles were seen like those of early days. Within sight of the Holy Land the army of the haughty Sennacherib was annihilated. God's scourge, which had raised itself against its own Master, was broken.[3] Judah was once more free. God, whose presence appears to the prophet Isaiah so closely bound up with Mount Zion, had, in very truth, defended His holy city.

The people could now live in their own fashion, under their own laws and their own God. Indeed, even as regards the remnants of Ephraim, memories of the time of national

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 3 ff. In this reform the Assyrians see a dethronement of the god of the country which must arouse his anger. 2 Kings xviii. 22.

[2] Cf. especially Isa. xxviii.–xxxii.

[3] Isa. x. 5 ff., xxxvi. ff. Cf. *Judah und die assyrische Weltmacht, eine Quellenuntersuchung von Asmus Sœrensen*, 1885.

unity seem to have revived. However much of what is stated about this relationship may be due to the popular tendency to embellish such facts, it appears certain that Hezekiah, like Josiah afterwards, having succeeded in adding a part of ancient Ephraim to his own kingdom, governed it from Jerusalem. Above all, however, every feeling of enmity to the sister-people, with which there had been such frequent feuds, vanished. Henceforward hope and love embraced the whole nation. Ephraim and Judah were no longer rivals, but one people—God's people Israel.

For religion, too, the experiences of such a time must have been of more than ordinary importance. Israel's salvation, Israel's covenant was, as it were, confirmed anew. It had been shown that "this city God had founded to be His own abode."[1] It had been proved that before God's holy arm all the hostile efforts of the world-power were as nothing—that Jehovah alone was God. It had been proved that God, in His mercy, was ready to remit His chastisements whenever their cause had been removed by contrition and penitence. It had been shown that little Judah possessed in its law, its faith, its worship, a bulwark which could resist and drive back the stream of the world-power; and that, on the other hand, human calculation and trust in the help of man invariably proved a tottering staff, a fatal refuge. All these experiences, through which that age had to pass, shine out upon us from the glorious words of its great prophets with ever new force. The true supramundane power of the kingdom of God is indeed not yet recognised. It is not the victory, through suffering and death, of the servant of God that is the content of this faith, but the vanquishing of the world-power through God's working of miracles. But we may well say that, humanly speaking, the respite of a century and a half granted to Judah made the further development and final completion of Israel's religion possible.

[1] Ps. xlvi. xlviii.; Isa. xxxvii. 22 f.

4. And yet the men of God must have seen clearly enough that this time of prosperity was a mere temporary respite, not the actual beginning of the new and perfect era. This was not a beginning out of which a permanent and perfect life could be developed. Hezekiah himself, with all his excellent qualities, seems to have been weak, selfish, and full of worldly vanity.[1] And behind him stood the figure of Manasseh—a man as cowardly as he was tyrannical, as hostile to the true worship and to those that observed it as he was despicably weak in his dealings with the world. The reformation of Hezekiah, which did away with the Asheras, the pillars, etc., was followed by a violent reaction. The state of religion which the prophets of Jehovah abhorred (Moloch, the host of heaven, unchaste worship) continued to be legal all through the reign of Manasseh and of his son. The prophets who did not keep silent on this matter had to endure a bloody persecution. And the picture, too, which they give us of the people is hopeless and gloomy. Of the high tone which characterised the men of God there is little trace in the people. But there is all the more deceit, oppression, selfishness, violence, immorality; it is a people "of unclean lips." Ere long the worship of the queen of heaven became so widely prevalent as to be actually like a new national religion. Idolatry was practised in the very temple, and children were ruthlessly sacrificed to Moloch, as if that were the religion of Israel.[2] Hence the keynote of

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 14 ff.; Isa. xxxix. 1 ff., 8.

[2] Jer. vii. 30, 31, xi. 10 ff., xxxii. 35, xliv. 15 ff.; Ezek. viii. We must, with Kuenen, distinguish the Moloch here referred to from the Ammonite Milcom, and regard him as a Canaanitish deity (1 Kings xi. 5, 33; cf. 7; 2 Kings xxiii. 13). Infant sacrifice may have been early introduced even into the national customs of Israel, from an ancient Semitic practice, in which case the act of Ahaz was nothing new but merely gave fresh éclat to the old habit (2 Kings xvii. 11). Hence those who worshipped Moloch might consider that they were entitled to worship Jehovah also (Ezek. xxiii. 38; Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 3). Indeed, in the oldest sources of the Semitic religion, the god who became Jehovah for the Israelites may not have been different from the one who became Moloch for the Canaanites. But since the time when Israel and

prophecy towards the close of the Assyrian period could not be one of joyous hope for the present or for the immediate future. The great deliverance had indeed shown that, for His covenant's sake, God would still espouse, with all His old power of working miracles, the cause of His already condemned people; that if it would only return to Him, in faith and penitence, He would graciously forgive and repent Him of the evil. But a glance at the present, with those divinely-guided eyes of theirs, showed the prophets clearly enough that this could not yet be their rest; that divine judgment was only postponed, not averted, and that the ways of God with this people could not reach their goal save by leading them through the valley of death.

Consequently, even in Hezekiah's days, a new period of suffering is already in prospect. Peace and prosperity are to continue only so long as Hezekiah lives; and in the figure of the new world-power just rising above the horizon he is shown the bearer of God's chastening rod.[1] Even the humiliation by Assyria was not yet the final one. True, Sennacherib did not again attack Hither-Asia, but he was still a powerful warrior-prince and conqueror. And Esarhaddon unquestionably made these districts once more the goal of a victorious campaign.[2] According to Chronicles a king of Assyria carried Manasseh himself away into a captivity, from which he returned a changed man. And the fact would suit the circumstances of the time very well, although one must unhesitatingly assert, with Graf, that the thing cannot possibly have happened exactly as is related in Chronicles.[3]

the Hamites separated there was at any rate no kinship between Jehovah and Moloch, not to speak of identity. Moloch is always represented as a hostile deity and his worship as Canaanitish immorality (Ezek. xvi. 20, xx. 30, xxiii. 32; Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 2–5; B. J. lvi. 9, lvii. 5; cf. Kuenen, "Jahve en Moloch" (*Theol. Tijdschr.* 1868, 539 ff., against Oort).

[1] Isa. xxxix. 6 ff. [2] 2 Kings xvii. 24 ff. (Inscriptions).

[3] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 f. The picture drawn by the Chronicler does not agree with Jer. xv. 4 ff.; 2 Kings xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3. The defeat of Manasseh by Assurbanipal, or his voluntary submission, is perhaps historical. Here, too,

The reign of Manasseh, at all events, irrevocably decided that the reformation of Judah under Hezekiah was only transient, a mere respite. The wounds which Manasseh inflicted upon the kingdom of God were so deep that even the better will of a Josiah could no longer heal them. Assyria, it is true, was not to execute the death-warrant of Judah. That empire was itself going gradually down to destruction. New peoples continued to fight for the supremacy till, after a long struggle, the haughty capital of Nineveh finally succumbed. Nevertheless the new world-ruler, God's servant Nebuchadnezzar, was all the more certain to execute His counsel.

Hence in this period there lies a wealth of most fruitful ideas by which the old religion of Israel was regenerated, spiritualised, and strengthened. Men, such as God gave to that age, Israel had not seen since Moses and Samuel. When the old venerated house of God fell, the pillars of the new spiritual temple which was to outlast that fall were already a-building.

CHAPTER XIV.

PERSONAGES OF INFLUENCE IN THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD.

The Prophet.

LITERATURE. — Heinrich Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, 1840, vol. i. pp. 1–64. Knobel, *Prophetismus der Hebräer*, 1851, 2 vols. Tholuck, *Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen*, Abdr. 2, Gotha 1861. Kuenen, *De Profeten en de Profetie onder Israel*, 1 and 2, 1875. W. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel and their Place in History*,

the Chronicler has edited old sources in his own edifying way. Manasseh's submission probably coincided with the quelling of the rebellion that had arisen in Babylon, after which King Assurbanipal himself resided for a time in that city.

1882. Oehler, *Ueber das Verhältniss der alttestamentlichen Prophetie zur heidnischen Mantik*, 1861 (*Glückwunschschreiben*) —also in Herzog's *Realencyclopädie* in the articles "Prophetenthum des Alten Testamentes," and "Weissagung" (2nd ed. v. Orelli). Küper, *Prophetenthum des Alten Testamentes*, 1869. Karl Köhler, *Der Prophetismus der Hebräer und die Mantik der Griechen in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnisse*, 1860. Dillmann, *Ueber die Propheten des alten Bundes nach ihrer politischen Wirksamkeit*, 1869 (*Festrede*). Eduard Graf, "Ueber die besonderen Offenbarungen Gottes," etc. (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1859, 2, p. 227 ff., 3, p. 411 ff.). Düsterdieck, *De rei propheticae in Vetere Testamento quum universae tum Messianae natura ethica*, 1852. Steudel, "Ueber Auslegung der Propheten, wie sie unter treuer Würdigung der ihren Aussprüchen zu Grunde liegenden Idee sich gestalten würde" (*Tübinger Zeitschr. f. Theologie*, 1834, 1). Hengstenberg, "Abhandlung über die Auslegung der Propheten" (*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, 1833, 23). Cf. by the same author *Christologie des Alten Testaments*, 2nd ed. iii. b. p. 158 ff. v. Hofmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, 2 vols., 1841, 44. Orelli, *Die alttest. Weissagung und die Vollendung des Gottesreiches*, 1882 [transl. (T. & T. Clark) *O. T. Prophecy of the Consummation of the Kingdom of God*]. Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten*, 1881. Ad. Köster, "Wie verhält sich in der h. Schrift die Offenbarung zur freien Geistesthätigkeit der heiligen Schriftsteller?" (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1854, 4, esp. p. 892 ff.). Georg Hoffmann, "Versuche zu Amos" (*Zeitschr. f. altt. Wiss.* iii. 87 ff.). Friedr. Köster, *Die Propheten des Alten und Neuen Testamentes nach ihrem Wesen und Wirken dargestellt*, Leipz. 1838. E. v. Lassaulx, *Die prophetische Kraft der menschlichen Seele in Dichtern und Denkern*, 1838. Redslob, *Der Begriff des Nabi oder des sogenannten Propheten bei den Hebräern*, 1839. J.F. N. Land, "Over den Godsnamen יהוה en den Titel נָבִיא (*Theol. Tijdschr.*, 1868, 156 ff.) Cf. Kuenen, *Hibbert Lectures*, 96. Umbreit, *De Veteris Testamenti prophetis clarissimis antiquis-*

simi temporis oratoribus (cf. by the same author, *Einleitung zum Commentar zum Jesaja*). Riehm, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1865, i. iii. 1869, ii. Baur, *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Weissagung*, vol. i. 1860, Giessen. Bertheau, "Die alttest. Weissagung von Israels Reichsherrlichkeit" (*Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1859, ii. p. 314 ff. p. 595 ff. 1860, p. 486 ff. For Greek Parallels, cf. C. Fr. Hermann *Lehrbuch der gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Griechen* (2nd ed. by Stark, 1858), Schömann, *Griechische Alterthümer*, vol. ii.

1. It was only in the Assyrian period that the primitive figure of the "prophet" in Israel reached that stage of development at which it became clearly distinguishable from kindred figures, and an important factor in religion. Hence this is the place to give a consecutive account of it. Of religious figures the earliest and most characteristic is that of the prophet. In his spirit the Spirit of God awakens an immediate certainty, an inward perception of things which elude the testimony of the senses, and which can never be known by the meditative or speculative reason, except as approximate probabilities; hence the essence of a revealed religion is absolutely dependent on prophecy. Without it we have only natural religion or philosophy. Hence later ages could not but regard the patriarchs of Israel, when transfigured in sacred legend, as prophetic figures. The ancient song in Gen. xlix. 1–28 already makes Jacob-Israel speak as a prophet; and, in the account of B and C, Abraham himself receives the word of God[1] "in a deep sleep," and with "holy dread," and is actually called a prophet.[2] Like the word of the prophet, an ancestor's dying blessing has imperishable value as "a divine saying."[3] Indeed, in the language of late poetry, the nation itself is called God's prophet.[4] But Moses

[1] Gen. xv. 1, 4, 12, 13; cf. xlvi. 2 ff. in A. [2] Gen. xx. 7.

[3] Gen. xxvii. 27 ff., xlviii. 14 ff.

[4] Ps. cv. 15; yet compare the very similar idea in B. J. xliv. 1 ff., xli. 8, xliii. 1 ff., and in general the figure of "the servant of Jehovah."

is represented as pre-eminently a prophet, or to put it more correctly, the prophet of Israel, like unto whom none other ever arose, the prophet in whose ear, during the whole course of his life-work,[1] the voice of God was continually sounding. And in like manner a continuance of prophecy after Moses is taken for granted. Hence, in the history of Samuel, it is looked upon as a misfortune, a sign of evil times for Israel, that "the word of the Lord was rare in those days; there was no open vision."[2] Consequently the prophetic law in Deut. xviii. 15 already represents Moses, the great man of God, as himself foretelling an uninterrupted series of prophets whose words Israel is to obey.

And although this view may throw back the circumstances of later times to the very beginning, it has undoubtedly a real historical justification. Despite all the unfavourable tendencies of the times, the Levitical priesthood certainly succeeded in making their position as revealers of the divine will, though originally insecure, more and more stable. By maintaining religious ordinances, and deepening their spirituality, as well as by rousing enthusiasm in Israel for the national religion, they unquestionably did very great service. But a regular priesthood, based on heredity and tradition, is invariably inclined to attach undue value to the outward observances and ritual of religion. In addition to a priesthood, the people required a direct connection with divine things such as prophecy alone can guarantee. Prophecy protected Israel from the dangers of priestcraft; and in the ages when this religion was most highly developed, the paths of the priestly scribe with his Thorah, and of the prophet with his message from God, went further and further apart. Yet, in Israel as among other nations, the offices of priest and prophet might be combined in one individual; and

[1] Ex. xxxiii. 11; Hos. xii. 15; cf. Num. xii. 6 (A); Deut. xxxiv. 10. In A this idea is already held without any real living appreciation of prophecy (Num. xii. 6).

[2] 1 Sam. iii. 1.

probably there were, as among the Greeks, certain families in which the prophetic faculty was particularly strong.

Later writers represent Moses and his contemporaries as being of quite the same type as the prophets of later days. By the side of Moses his sister Miriam, too, appears as a prophetess.[1] Indeed, in an outburst of prophetic self-sufficiency she dares to say to Moses, Doth not God speak through us also?[2] In like manner the spirit of prophecy, proceeding from Moses takes possession of the seventy elders of Israel. On hearing of it Moses gives utterance to the joyful wish, "Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets!"[3] We also see prophets in the interval between Moses and Samuel,—God sent them daily to His people.[4] In reality, however, Moses was hardly a prophet, in the sense in which Isaiah or Jeremiah was. He was liker an Elijah. And the prophets, of whom there was certainly no scarcity in those days, we must think of as more nearly akin to the seers and soothsayers of the neighbouring peoples than to the men of God of the Assyrian period. This is shown us by the figure of Deborah, at once a wife and a heroine, to whom, as she sat under her palm-tree between Ramah and Bethel, the children of Israel came "for judgment."[5] Such, too, is the figure of Samuel at his first meeting with Saul,[6] and such the companies of ecstatic prophets in Saul's time. At any rate their activity was due to purely personal impulse; it varied with the religious condition of the people, and was indeed an index of it. Prior to Samuel's day, at all events, prophecy was not a regularly organised religious force, with a definite form of its own. There were prophets, but not as yet, in the sense of the later period, a prophetic class. This class goes back, as most scholars suppose, to Samuel. In the early recollec-

[1] Ex. xv. 20, A. [2] Num. xii. 2 (A?). [3] Num. xi. 25 ff.
[4] Jer. vii. 25. [5] Judg. iv. 4, 5.
[6] The stories of the prophets in Judg. vi. 8, 1 Sam. ii. 27, have plainly the character of later unhistorical accounts.

tions of Israel this man was known as an infallible prophet,[1] whom posterity considered a second Moses.[2] He is in all probability to be credited with founding the schools of the prophets, and establishing a prophetic class, which obtained a definite and important position among the various parties in the State. In order to check and defeat opposition to the religion of Moses these prophets were ready to avail themselves of every means, often even of violence. It has been recently maintained that the prophetic guilds in Samuel's time were in nowise closely akin to those existing at a later date in the northern kingdom, the leaders of which were Elijah and Elisha, and that Samuel himself was not closely connected with the companies of ecstatic Nebiim which owed their origin to the Hamite religion,[3] and which are mentioned in his days. But neither assertion is supported by any actual proof, however certain it is that a man like Samuel must have been different from the ordinary members of prophetic guilds, and that a few centuries must have wrought great changes in these institutions.

A reason for attributing the schools of the prophets to Samuel is afforded by the fact that they are first mentioned in his time, and that they are found in those country districts and towns where Samuel's own influence was strongest. They took their rise among the tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin, at the shrines of Ramah, Bethel, Gibeah, Gilgal, and Mizpah, as well as in the district round about Jericho.[4] Besides, Samuel could discover no better means of further-

[1] 1 Sam. iii. 20, iv. 1.

[2] 1 Sam. viii. 7, ix. 6, 19–27 ; later xv. 16–30. Then 1 Chron. ix. 22, xxvi. 28, xxix. 29 ; Acts iii. 24 (πάντες δὲ οἱ προφῆται ἀπὸ Σαμουήλ).

[3] From the remark in 1 Sam. ix. 9 that the later Nebiim (נביאים) were formerly called Roïm (ראים) Dutch scholars have inferred that the Nebiim were a guild of fanatics directly under Hamite influences, formerly unknown in Israel. How little that suits the context and the general use, in Israel, of the word "Nabi"; cf , among others, König, *Offenbarungsbegriff des A. T.*, i. 63 ff.

[4] 1 Sam. vii. 16, 17, viii. 1, 2, 4, x. 5, 13, xix. 18 ff. ; cf. 2 Kings ii. 1–5, iv. 38.

ing that union of Jehovah's people at which he aimed than the organisation of prophetic enthusiasm.

To have been a member of such a guild was, of course, not an indispensable condition for doing the work of a prophet in later life. Elisha himself, for instance, had never been, so far as appears, a member of such a guild when he was suddenly called away from the position of a well-to-do farmer.[1] Still it was the rule for "the sons of the prophets," or "the prophets"[2] as they are also termed, to live together under the superintendence of distinguished prophetic personages called their fathers,[3] — a title which is also used in Proverbs to describe the similar relationship between teacher and scholar. Their numbers appear to have been considerable. Ahab assembles four hundred, Obadiah hides a hundred, and fifty are sent out from Jericho to search for Elijah.[4] In the towns they lived in enclosed cloister-like buildings.[5] Sometimes their establishments were set up in quite out-of-the-way places.[6] It is clear they did not refuse to engage in ordinary secular occupations,

[1] 1 Kings xix. 19.

[2] בני הנביאים, 1 Kings xx. 35; 2 Kings ii. 3, 5, 7, 15, vi. 1, ix. 1; נערים, 2 Kings v. 22.

[3] So Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, "before whom they sat," *i.e.* under whose care and superintendence they were, 1 Sam. xix. 20; 2 Kings ii. 7, 12, 15, iv. 1, 38, vi. 1–5. For the expression, cf. 2 Kings ii. 12; Ps. xlv. 11; Prov. i. 8, 10, 15, ii. 1, iv. 1, 10. The passage, 1 Sam. x. 12, I cannot possibly understand, with Oehler, as if the man meant to say, "Have they then, as contrasted with Saul, a hereditary right?" The question means, Who then is the head of this company of prophets who is going to turn even Saul into a prophet? Besides, the expression, "And who is their father?" and the other, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" are both used here simply as being old proverbial sayings. One might rather think, with a slight alteration of the text, that the questioners meant to express their amazement as to how and under whose teaching Saul could have become a prophet. Sept. מי אביהו.

[4] 1 Kings xviii. 4 ff., xxii. 6; 2 Kings ii. 7.

[5] The word נוית (1 Sam. xix. 19–24, xx. 1) describes, like נָוֶה, the building, the school, the *κοινόβιον* itself (Ew., Oehler); cf. besides, Isa. xxii. 1, 5, the גיא חזיון in contrast with Mount Zion.

[6] 2 Kings vi. 1 ff.

especially agriculture.[1] Still that did not prevent their being supported by the friends of the national religion, who saw in them the best and bravest champions in the struggle against idolatry.[2] Celibacy cannot have been a rule,[3] although, probably, in most cases it was submitted to during the period of education. The outward needs and the business affairs of these guilds were attended to by the superintendents, and they, in turn, employed the members in executing any commissions or business connected with their prophetic calling.[4]

Clearly the object of their living together was to arouse, in a wider circle of gifted and sensitive youths, the enthusiasm that would make them prophets, living fountains of religious enthusiasm. In this enthusiasm for the religion and the statutes of Jehovah they must all have shared. According to the idea of the Old Testament, the spirit is communicated by personal living contact.[5] It is by the laying on of Moses' hands that the spirit of wisdom comes upon Joshua.[6] A double portion of the spirit of Elijah, that is to say, the portion of the first-born, was given to Elisha, because he did not leave his master till the last, till he had witnessed his translation and received his mantle.[7] Even a Saul could not resist the enthusiasm with which he was seized on meeting a band of inspired prophets.[8] Hence the Old Testament certainly means us to believe that people joined these guilds under the conviction that they would themselves be brought under the influence of the prophetic spirit and become messengers of God.

It is this personal intercourse with men enthusiastically reli-

[1] 2 Kings iv. 39.

[2] 2 Kings iv. 42. First-fruits for "the man of God," that is, almost like a gift to the sanctuary.

[3] 2 Kings iv. 1.

[4] 2 Kings iv. 1 ff., 38, 42, vi. 1 ff., ix. 1, etc.

[5] Num. xi. 25.

[6] Deut. xxxiv. 9.

[7] 2 Kings ii. 9, 15. (According to Ewald, two parts, Deut. xxi. 17, certainly not the double spirit.)

[8] 1 Sam. x. 6–11, xix. 20–24.

gious—hardly real teaching in our sense of the term—that we must regard as the chief means of attaining the object in view. We know, however, that religious music, probably combined with choral dancing, was practised as an effective means of arousing enthusiasm.[1] We must bear in mind what an important part music played in education, *e.g.* among the Greeks, and how much attention was still paid to it by the philosophical schools as a branch of popular education. Even according to the later narrative, music was the means of banishing "the evil spirit from God."[2] Such music and dancing overpowered even the most obstinate natures. And it may not be out of place to refer here to the modern East, where the pious ecstasy of fakirs and dervishes is, in fact, kept up by dance and song. It is also quite natural to suppose that the arts of speaking and writing would be taught. This would explain the peculiar cast of prophetic speech, with its half-poetic, half-oratorical style.[3]

The period during which schools of the prophets are mentioned embraces somewhere about two centuries, from the time of Samuel onwards. Under the dynasties of Ahab and Jehu they are seen to be the very heart and pith of the national theocratic party in the northern kingdom. When this kingdom perished, they disappeared, or, at any rate, lost their importance. In the southern kingdom Amos certainly points to the later existence of such prophetic guilds;[4] but they do not appear to have had any great standing. The splendid service in the capital, which attracted to itself all the national interest, told heavily against them.

During this period we must picture to ourselves a great variety of prophetic phenomena. Men like Samuel, Gad, Nathan, and Elisha are very different from excited companies of inspired fanatics. But this difference is not more

[1] 1 Sam. x. 5 ff., xix. 20; 2 Kings iii. 15.
[2] 1 Sam. xvi. 16, 23, xix. 9.
[3] 1 Chron. xxix. 29; 2 Chron. ix. 29.
[4] Amos vii. 14.

surprising than the fact that the same person, Samuel, should be a soothsayer of the ordinary type, and also a great man of God.[1] We have to do with a period of contrasts and of naïve developments. During this whole period the struggle for the supremacy of Jehovah in Israel was carried on by external means, by rousing into enthusiasm tolerably numerous bodies of men. Prophecy is a fighting power in the State. This is its heroic age, the time when Nathan decides which dynasty is to rule in Judah; when Elijah, like a second Moses,[2] fights with fire and sword against foreign worship; and when Elisha gives the kingdoms of Syria and Ephraim new reigning families.

In this prophetic period the classical personality is Samuel himself. Then come his contemporaries and successors, the royal counsellors, Gad and Nathan, who direct the great career of David. The later prophets are as frequently the opponents as the friends of their respective kings. The originals of this militant prophecy are Elijah and Elisha, whose history is given us in a special document, so wreathed in a garland of legend, that it is now scarcely possible to determine with anything like certainty what is strictly historical. In it Elijah is the *beau-ideal* of prophetic power, passion, and enthusiasm; Elisha, the type of quiet dignity and wise discretion.[3] The prophets seem, by this time, to have been in the habit of gathering the people regularly round them, and, perhaps, of granting inquirers and suppliants an audience at new moons and on Sabbaths.[4]

But it is not till the beginning of the eighth century that the prophet becomes so very prominent a figure in the religious development of Israel, that we may describe this period as the prophetic period proper,—the period during

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 7 ff. [2] 1 Kings xix. 8–11.

[3] 1 Kings xvii. 1, 4, 14, xviii. 37 f., 41 f., xix. 6 ff.; 2 Kings ii. 1 ff., viii. 14, 19 ff., i. 10, 12, iii. 13, iv. 5, 29 ff., 41, 43, v. 8 ff., 25 ff., vi. 7, 15 ff., 18 ff., viii. 10 ff., ix. 1 ff.

[4] It appears so from 2 Kings iv. 23.

which a new and higher phase of the Old Testament religion is unfolded by men of prophetic spirit. In this period the figure of the Israelitish prophet first separates itself in all its characteristic beauty from the kindred figures among other nations.

With the downfall of the schools of the prophets in the northern kingdom, prophecy ceases to represent an organised theocratic power,—"an autocracy" (Ewald),—and by acting and ruling as such, to assert the kingly rights of Jehovah over Israel. After this, when the prophets interfere in the history of the nation, they do so only by uttering words of warning, prophecy, and instruction. They wish, by their revelation, to write upon the conscience of the people the will of God, and thereby the way of salvation.

Such are the phases through which prophecy passed. However long the older and more violent form of prophecy might continue side by side with the new and more spiritual, still, in presence of the higher, it could not but degenerate gradually into a caricature of what it once was. The true prophets become teachers of the people. Their aim is to gather out of all Israel, by means of the word, a spiritual Israel. But all teaching, especially if its object be to point to the future, to give directions regarding it, and to work for it, must create for itself a permanent form, in order that it may not pass by unheard, and be forgotten. Consequently the prophets become writers. As teachers, they develop the prophetic phase of the Old Testament religion, which, while thoroughly loyal to the religion of the fathers, nevertheless spiritualises and transforms it into something higher. As writers, they produce the most lasting, lucid, and important religious literature which appeared in Israel prior to the Epistles of Paul.

During this period also it was still usual for prophets to come out of circles in which religious enthusiasm was

fostered. Consequently, there was in prophecy an element of tradition; otherwise Amos could not mention as something unusual that he was neither a prophet by profession nor the pupil of a prophet. For he can hardly mean merely to deny being connected with a proscribed class of foreign prophets.[1] We also know that influential prophets like Jeremiah and Ezekiel belonged to the priestly class,[2] and that the more prominent men among the prophets had in turn their scholars and disciples,[3] by whom the influence of the master was continued more or less fully. Still it was always maintained that this was not a necessary condition of prophetic activity. Even from among cattle and sycamore trees the Spirit of God called His servants.[4] Only every true prophet had to know of a time when the authoritative voice of the Lord sounded in his ears, and put into his heart the conviction that he had been called of God.[5] A feeling of divine compulsion must sustain the true prophet. "If the lion growls, who does not fear? If the Lord speaks, who does not prophesy?"[6]

That the literary activity of the prophets began exactly with the oldest fragments of prophetic writing which have come down to us, we cannot, of course, prove; in fact, we cannot consider it even probable. Nothing could be more natural than that men like Nathan and Gad should also have written down along with their historical records the divine messages they had to communicate. But that connected literary productions like the prophetical books which have come down to us cannot have existed at a much earlier date is, at any rate, made highly probable by the simple consideration that, had it been otherwise, there must surely have

[1] Amos vii. 14.

[2] Jer. i. 1; cf. ii. 8, 26, vi. 13, viii. 10, xx. 6, xxiii. 11, 33 f., xxvi. 7, 11, 16, xxix. 1; Ezek. i. 3.

[3] Isa. viii. 16; Jer. xxxii. 13, xxxvi. 4, 32; B. J. l. 4, liv. 13.

[4] Amos i. 1, vii. 14 f.

[5] *E.g.* Isa. vi. 1 ff.; Jer. i. 2 f.; Ezek. i. 1 ff.

[6] Amos iii. 8.

remained, side by side with the comparatively numerous and unbroken series of writings from the time of Amos onwards, some unmistakable traces of the earlier ones.

In the northern kingdom also prophets continued to appear till the very end. Still, in contrast with the position which Elisha, for instance, had gained there, prophets were apparently during this period looked at askance. They were charged "not to prophesy."[1] They were, indeed, no longer in a position to identify themselves with the national interests of northern Israel and its reigning dynasties, as against Judah and the house of David. They could no longer allow the worship of Jehovah under the image of an ox to go unreproved, on the ground that it was, at any rate, Jehovah and not Baal that was being worshipped. They preached the unity of Israel under Davidic kings, and pointed to the spiritual worship of God as it was practised in the temple at Jerusalem. "Go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and eat bread there, and prophesy there; but at Bethel thou must not prophesy any more, for it is a royal chapel, and the seat of the royal court,"[2] are words too expressive of a courtier-priest's abhorrence of prophetic freedom of speech to have been spoken only to Amos. Hosea complains of suffering the bitterest taunts, and of having traps of every kind set for him.[3] The fact that Amos comes from Judah into the northern kingdom,[4] and that the author of Zech. ix. ff. probably also belongs by birth to Judah, and had only a temporary influence in the northern kingdom,[5] shows that there was no longer any room there for the proper development of prophetic energy.

Still, apart from transient apparitions like Jonah,[6] even in the wildest time of revolution in northern Israel, it was possible for a man like Hosea to arise. And the important influence which the prophetic word could always exercise

[1] Amos ii. 12. [2] Amos vii. 13. [3] Hos. ix. 7, 8.
[4] Amos i. 1. [5] Zech. ix. 9 ff., xi. 13. [6] 2 Kings xiv. 25.

there is shown by the noteworthy document, Zech. ix. ff. True, God speaks there in person, telling how He guided His people, acting the shepherd over them with the two staves,—Union (with Judah) and Grace (peace with the Gentiles),—and how in one month He destroyed three shepherds.[1] But all this points to the personal fate of the prophet as one who acts in the name of God; and what is told us about the end of the shepherd's career,—the scornful dismissal of God, with a hireling's wages for His trouble,—can scarcely be taken as purely symbolical.

The real stage for the prophets of this period is Judah, one may, indeed, say Jerusalem; for even men out of the landward part of Judah, like Micah from Moresheth,[2] or the author of Zech. xii. ff. (who betrays his special interest in the country towns of Judah by the way in which he inveighs against the pride of Jerusalem and the family of David, and insists that the great deliverance is to be begun by the peasantry of Judah[3]), lived and taught in Jerusalem. Naturally their position varied with the varying circumstances of the times. Under a Hezekiah or a Josiah, they were the friends of royalty,[4] and were respectfully consulted by deputations consisting of the highest nobles of the court.[5] Under a Manasseh, or by the factions which managed Zedekiah,[6] they were threatened and persecuted. By an Ahaz, who pretended all the while to be good and pious, they were derided.[7] Nor were hostilities by any means confined to mere words, or to increasing the difficulty of their task. In the opening years of Hezekiah's reign we find distinct reminiscences of actual persecutions, which the prophets of Jehovah had to endure because of their freedom of speech.[8] The blinded multitude were very often anxious that the

[1] Zech. xi. 7 ff.
[2] Micah i. 1.
[3] Zech. xii. 6 f.
[4] Isa. xxxvii., xxxviii.; 2 Kings xxii. 14 ff.
[5] Isa. xxxvii. 2.
[6] 2 Kings xxi. 16; Jer. xxvi.
[7] Isa. vii. 12.
[8] Isa. xxix. 21, xxx. 10.

prophets, with their far from joyous prophecies, should not be allowed to open their lips.[1] Even under Joash, Zechariah fell a victim to the rage of the offended populace.[2] But no one had more to suffer from this unpopularity than Jeremiah. Fellow-countrymen and kinsfolk wished to kill the hated messenger of evil. He was treated as a traitor to his country, openly accused, thrown into a loathsome dungeon, and threatened with death, while other prophets were actually executed.[3] Of course the prophets who lived during the Exile were exposed to still greater risks; for the State officials would naturally regard them as dangerous agitators, who were inciting the mass of the captives against their masters.

Nevertheless, in spite of all these drawbacks, the prophets in Judah had a very great influence as preachers. They could say to the authorities with impunity what no one else could have said save at the risk of his life.[4] It happened again and again that the elders, as representing the community, successfully defended, against their rulers,[5] the right of the prophets to freedom of speech. And when the worship of Jehovah was not being openly put down, as under Manasseh, it was always regarded as a matter of course, even in times of grievous apostasy, that special importance should attach to the utterances of such men as were considered true prophets of God. Even Zedekiah sends to Jeremiah in order to get the prophet to speak for him; and afterwards when he dare not any longer consult him openly, he still does so secretly.[6] Not to consult God regarding

[1] Micah ii. 6 (Amos vii. 16). Prophesy ye not, they are ever prophesying. (Isa. xxviii. 9 ff. imitates the style in which unbelievers scornfully parodied the intolerable pedantry of hortatory preaching.)

[2] 2 Chron. xxiv. 20 f.

[3] Jer. ii. 30, xi. 19, 21, xii. 4 ff., xv. 10, xviii. 18, 22 f., xx. 1 ff., 10, xxvi. 7 ff., 20 ff., xxix. 26 ff., xxxii. 2 f., xxxiii. 1 ff., xxxvi. 19, xxxvii. 15 ff., xxxviii. 6 ff. (Hos. ix. 7 f.).

[4] Isa. vii. 12 ff., xxii. 15 ff.; Jer. xx. 3, xxii. 13 ff. etc.

[5] Jer. xxvi. 16 ff.

[6] Jer. xxi. 1 f., xxxvii. 17, 21, xxxviii. 14 ff.

important State affairs is considered a sign of reckless impiety.[1] Indeed, even when people would not obey, they were nevertheless ready to listen beforehand to the utterances of the prophets as to "a very pleasant song."[2]

2. Prophecy is by no means an exclusive possession of Israel. Among every people there have been persons who were believed to have a special connection with the Deity, and consequently to be gifted with supernatural knowledge and power. Such persons, mainly because information was asked and expected from them regarding the dark riddle of the future, attained to great influence, and often to a leading position in their own nation. Among most ancient peoples, such prophesying was confined to a particular class. Thus the Old Testament mentions the soothsayers of the Philistines, who were likewise priests.[3] In later times the priests of Baal are also his prophets.[4] The whole story of Balaam takes for granted that among the peoples that bordered on Israel, such persons had a definite and honourable position; just as the Mesha-stone tells us of a word from Chemosh, in consequence of which the king felt himself constrained to make war against Israel.[5] The oracles of the priests in the sanctuaries are found alongside of the words of the prophets. Often, too, both are combined. Legend mentions the wise men of Egypt.[6] A multitude of old laws[7] and old names[8] point to guilds of men and women in Canaan who practised the art of soothsaying.

Among the Greeks we have full information about a state of matters undoubtedly similar. In many of their families in the very earliest days prophecy was here-

[1] Isa. xxx. 2.
[2] Ezek. xxxiii. 30 ff. (cf. 1 Kings xxii.).
[3] 1 Sam. vi. 1 ff.
[4] 1 Kings xviii. 19; 2 Kings x. 19.
[5] Num. xxii. 6, xxiii. 5, xxiv. 3 ff.; Micah vi. 5; Neh. xiii. 2.
[6] Gen. xli. 8, 24; Ex. vii. 11, 22, viii. 7, 18, ix. 11 (מכשפים, הרטמים, חכמים); cf. also נחשׁ in Gen. xliv. 5, 15.
[7] Ex. xxii. 17; Lev. xix. 27, xx. 6, 27 (ידעני, אוב, עונן); elsewhere קסם.
[8] *E.g.* Judg. ix. 37, אלון מעננים; vii. 1, גבעת המורה.

ditary,[1] as among the Jamidæ, the Clytiadæ, the Telliadæ, etc. In later times it was usual to divide the whole soothsaying profession[2] into two classes, although both often appear combined. In the one class the enlightenment is not acquired by art or got by study.[3] The soul is enlightened when awake or in a trance, or else it is thrown into an ecstasy. In the other, the enlightenment is got by study, as an art is, in innumerable different ways.[4] Omens obtained in answer to prayer, or voluntarily sent by the gods, were carefully examined; for example, the flight of birds, lightning, falling stars, eclipses of the sun and the moon, comets, prodigies, and later, too, the conjunctions of the stars. People noticed whether the victim came to the altar willingly or reluctantly, how the different pieces of the sacrifice burned, and what omens the entrails gave. They were on the watch for omens in the house and by the way, and for accidental cries of special foreboding. With lots, sieves, barley, eggs, rings, and innumerable other objects, the future could be foretold according to a fixed tradition and art. Both kinds of soothsaying are lost in hoary antiquity, and are already glorified in ancient legend. But while more and more honour was paid to persons really inspired of God, and particularly to the Pythia, down even to a somewhat late period, so that it was only the scornful unbelief of times of declension which scoffed at inspired persons as fools and madmen,[5] professional "interpreters of dreams," ventriloquists, and pythonists,[6] were looked upon with contempt, and were miserably paid.[7] But in every case of soothsaying

[1] O. Müller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* i. 172; Schömann, p. 295, etc.

[2] Cf. for the whole subject, Schömann, ii. 266 ff. etc.; Hermann, *l.c.* 226 ff.

[3] ἄτεχνον καὶ ἀδίδακτον γένος.

[4] τὸ τεχνικὸν γένος. Compare the passages from Plato, Plutarch, and Pausanias, in the archæological works cited above; also Cicero, *De Divin.* i. 18. 41.

[5] Schol. Aristoph. *Av.* 988, in Schömann, p. 271; cf. Pausanias, iii. 11. 9, x. 9. 7; Herod. ix. 33 ff., 294, etc.

[6] אוב, Pytho, Plutarch, *De Def. Orac.* 9; Schol. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1055 (14).

[7] Aristoph. *Vesp.* 52.

proper, the form in which the Deity revealed Himself to men was the trance. Hence Plato draws a clear distinction between the *μάντις* proper and the *προφήτης* who merely expounds or interprets;[1] just as the prophet stood beside the Pythia to receive and communicate the oracle.[2] Moreover, among the Greeks also the complaint about lying prophets is an old one.[3]

Prophecy in Israel had undoubtedly to be developed out of such circumstances as the generally prevalent conception of the soothsayer implies. Popular figures are the historical parent-soil of all the sacred figures of Israel. From the first even the prophet must certainly have had in the earnest and moral religion of Israel a different character from what he had in the voluptuous orgiastic nature-worship of Canaan. But, with the documents at our command, it is impossible to determine precisely the nature of that distinction. The oldest narratives in no wise indicate so marked a cleavage between the divine oracles in Israel and those of other nations as there was in later times. Quite in accordance with the ancient idea, Ehud comes as the bearer of a message from God to the heathen Eglon, who receives him with due respect. In later times, too, the king of Edom goes with the kings of Judah and Israel in order to hear from Elisha a word from God.[4] The way in which, in Judg. vii. 13, the dream of the Midianite soldier is taken and applied as an omen, is quite in harmony with ancient ideas. Interpretation of dreams plays an extremely important *rôle* in sacred legend as given by C, and by no means so as to draw a distinction between the dreams of heathens and the dreams of Israel's forefathers.[5] In early times the people have no scruples in

[1] Plato, *Timaeus*, 71 f., *οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔννους ἐφάπτεται μαντικῆς ἐνθέου καὶ ἀληθοῦς.*

[2] Herod. viii. 36.

[3] Sophocles, *Antig.* 1036 (55); Æschyl. *Agam.* 1168; Herod. ix. 95.

[4] Judg. iii. 20; 2 Kings iii. 12 f.

[5] Gen. xxxi. 10, 24, xxxvii. 5, 9, 19, xl. 5, 8, 12, 18, xli. 1, 11, 15, 25, xlvi. 2 (בעל החלמות, פתר, פתרנים לאלהים); cf. Gen. xx. 3, 6, and often.

making precisely the same demands on the prophets of Israel as the heathen made on their soothsayers. A particularly striking proof of this is the way Saul consults Samuel, and the way he is directed to him.[1] The greatest men of God could not take it amiss if they were asked to answer, for a soothsayer's usual fee, questions about the most ordinary affairs of daily life.

Still, it can only have been the simple and artless kind of soothsaying in which such men engaged. The really professional kinds, especially the Canaanitish necromancy, which kept its place in the people's favour with great persistency, were regarded by the law in Israel as foreign abominations, against which kings like Saul, in their zeal for Jehovah, acted with the greatest severity. Necromancy was, it is true, not considered, even in Israel, as deception pure and simple, but as a wicked recourse to powers and arts inconsistent with faith in the covenant God of Israel. Most worthy of attention, and perfectly in keeping with the spirit of the older times, is the story which makes King Saul ask the Witch of Endor, the day before his last fatal battle, for information about the future.[2] It shows us that the practice of necromancy had been forbidden as non-Jewish, and that the king, in his zeal for the religion of Jehovah, had visited it with heavy punishment. But it shows at the same time that not only did popular superstition, in spite of all official edicts, make such a practice possible and lucrative, but that even the followers of Jehovah saw in it no mere empty superstition, but a mysterious and wicked use of strange powers, by means of which a glimpse, at any rate, could be got into the dark realm of the future.[3] But in other respects we cannot

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 6 ff. ; cf. xxiii. 2.

[2] 1 Sam. xxviii. 3 ff. As a narrative the passage indeed belongs to a pretty late period. But the impression it gives of being perfectly natural and true to life will escape nobody.

[3] The occurrence itself was certainly due, as in similar Greek stories, to the art of ventriloquism (צפצף and ההגה, Isa. viii. 19), by which the voice of the

maintain that soothsaying in Israel was so very different from that of the heathen. The spirit of the higher religion did not simply negative popular forms and views, it did not make the living spirit of the people a mere blank page; but it appropriated what was there, and then gradually cut out what was inconsistent with itself.

Even in early times, as in the case of Moses, Samuel, Nathan, and Elijah, soothsaying was not the most important function of the prophets of Israel, still less that which constituted their life-work.[1] Certainly in those vigorous days, and in those countries where every sort of feeling gets free outward expression, inspiration was generally rapture of a most violent kind. Under the influence of sacred music, the prophets worked themselves into a state of passionate excitement. Even Elisha did not disdain this use of music.[2] The people actually called them "madmen";[3] and, indeed, this name was not a mere term of derision, but one in quite general use.[4] It must be borne in mind, that in the East at the present day insanity is regarded as a kind of rapture; that lunatics are still, as in David's time, looked on with much respect, as persons who are on no account to be injured, as

dead was imitated as if coming either from the sky or the ground; while, of course, only the sorcerer, not the inquirer, saw the figure. The dead person appears as אלהים, like the Manes, ver. 13. The soothsaying spirit was termed אוב; the word ידעני properly denotes the soothsayer himself; then, also, the spirit as "knowing," Lev. xix. 31 (according to Stade, merely "clever spirits"; Deut. xviii. 11; 2 Kings xxi. 6). The account of necromancy in modern Egypt, with the final exposure of the trick, is very interestingly told by Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. Besides, our enlightened age needs only to notice how every "medium" acts, in order to understand the trickery required and the credulity even of educated persons.

[1] It is much more likely that forms of professional soothsaying were practised with the Urim and Thummim, in connection with the oracles of ephod-wearing priests.

[2] 2 Kings iii. 15; cf. 1 Sam. x. 5, 9 ff., xix. 20 ff.

[3] משגע, cf. also the work נפל (Num. xxiv. 4) in the antiquely-coloured narrative about Balaam.

[4] A term of scorn, Hos. ix. 7, but differently in 2 Kings ix. 11; Deut. xxviii. 34; Jer. xxix. 26; cf. *Odys.* xx. 360.

men on whom God has set a special mark, whose spirit is away in heaven,[1] whose touch brings good luck, and who must not be denied even the most unheard-of request. But Israelitish prophecy can be properly compared only with the nobler and more spiritual forms of heathen soothsaying. In order to distinguish it from these, the view of the Old Testament does not require us to regard the inspiration of non-Israelites as imaginary or fictitious, and only that of the prophets of Israel as actually the work of a higher power. The Old Testament goes upon the supposition that even a Balaam is inspired by the true God, and that his curse or blessing takes effect;[2] that Moses has a certain resemblance to the wise men and the sorcerers of Egypt;[3] that even heathen kings have dreams of a truly divine significance;[4] that the prophets of the Philistines prophesy truly;[5] in a word, that "God" speaks even beyond the bounds of Israel. As regards the relations of Israel to the heathen world, the older parts of the Old Testament are on the whole very impartial and mild. It is only with the later struggles, and especially after the law gets a more definite written form, that the stern severance begins.

Hence we cannot, so far as the form of their gift is concerned, separate the Israelitish prophets from similar personages among other peoples. In both cases it is taken for granted that the influence of the Divine Spirit raises them spiritually above ordinary men, and gives them a miraculous knowledge of future events and of the supernatural world. What differentiates the prophets of Israel is the character of

[1] Cf. the early narrative in 1 Sam. xxi. 14–16, where the high respect paid to the מְשֻׁגָּע or מְשֻׁתָּנָע as such is manifest all through. For the modern East, cf. Lane, vol. ii. Schulz, "Leitungen des Höchsten," etc. (In Paulus, *Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisen in den Orient*, Bd. vi. 149, 156, vii. 34).

[2] No doubt only in a somewhat late representation, which, however, is, of itself, proof of what has been stated, Num. xxii. 6, xxiii. 5, xxiv. 3 ff.; Micah vi. 5; Neh. xiii. 2; Josh. xxiv. 9, 10. (A's conception of history no longer tolerates such equality of position, Num. xxxi. 8, 16; Josh. xiii. 22.)

[3] Ex. vii. 11, 22, viii. 7, 18, ix. 11.

[4] Gen. xx. 6, xl. 5 f., xli. 1 ff., 25, 28 (C).

[5] 1 Sam. vi. 2 f.

their knowledge of God. Called to be spiritual leaders of the people acknowledging the religion of Jehovah, they are full of enthusiasm for Jehovah, the holy God of their fathers, the moral Ruler of the world. Hence the prophetic powers which they possess are devoted to the accomplishment of a great and holy task of world-wide moment. It is only in the performance of this religious task that Israelitish prophecy separates itself more and more from the kindred forms. The prophets of Israel are the servants of a God who is building up a moral and spiritual kingdom on this earth. Hence the prophets of Israel, in so far as they come under consideration in connection with the development of the true religion, are distinguished from the prophets outside Israel in exactly the same way as the revealed religion of the Old Testament is distinguished from nature-religion. Even in the latter there is the religious feeling, the common revelation of God in the spirit of nature and of man. In like manner, in the prophets outside Israel there is prophetic inspiration, the working of an enhanced religious power. But the Old Testament prophets experience the working of the Spirit who leads mankind to salvation. They are placed in a great historical connection which conducts to the highest goal, and have made this people the religious people. Accordingly, the later age[1] was right in considering the one infallible mark of a genuine Old Testament prophet to be, that he should make known the God of Israel, that is to say, should be in accord with the spirit that was revealed through Moses. Of this, no other endowment, not even the power of working miracles, gives absolutely certain proof.

As possessors of this holy spirit the prophets are in a special sense what Israel itself is as distinguished from the other peoples. The prophets are in a special sense "holy," dedicated to God. They have "the law" of God written on their hearts, as it was at first written on the heart of a prophet.

[1] Deut. xiii. 2 ff.

They are proofs to the people of the high position it holds as the people of God. Prophecy is just like the rainbow in nature, a constant token of God's covenant with Israel, a constant pledge of the divine love whose everlasting light irradiates the darkness of time.

3. Of really conscious deceit for the purposes of gain, the earlier age, in its judgment of the prophets of Jehovah, knows nothing. Such an idea is altogether out of keeping with the thoughts of the people in those early days. It was only in later times, when men were more given to thought and reflection, that things began to be looked at in this light. When a prophet lies, without being inspired by a false or impotent god, it is because God in His anger against Israel's sin means to destroy him, and therefore puts into the prophets "a lying spirit," "an evil spirit from the Lord." Here we must specially notice the interesting and picturesque narrative in 1 Kings xxii. 5 ff., the date of which is early. The prophets who cry "Peace, peace," while all the time God has, in His anger, determined on a terrible judgment, are not considered professional tricksters, as in later ages the opponents of Micah, Zechariah, and Jeremiah were. God led them astray in His anger;[1] and even the true prophet of God had at first, in accordance with the divine will, to say what was untrue, because he was aware that God intended to beguile the king (ver. 15). The statement in 2 Kings viii. 10 can scarcely be interpreted in this sense. For here, in the words of Elisha, there is either a ring of lofty contempt for the ambitious servant, of whose murderous thoughts against his master the prophet is aware, while he is able at the same time to say that the illness of that master will not prove fatal. Or we have to follow the form of the text according to which Elisha foretells the death of the Syrian king. 2 Sam. vii.

[1] Naturally these men feel their reputation as prophets most grievously tarnished by the disclosure of Micah, and exclaim, "Has the spirit of God left us to speak to thee?" (ver. 24).

3, 4 does not require to be taken into consideration here; for what Nathan first says to David is merely the impression which the proposal to build a temple makes on his own heart. It is only the second answer, refusing permission, which is represented as "a word from God."

The position is different in the "prophetic period" proper. No doubt, even during this period the Israelites come more and more into contact with the neighbouring peoples and their superstitious methods of soothsaying; and the prophets have constantly to censure the people for their frequent use of such methods. It is not in Egypt only that sorcerers, diviners, and wizards are found.[1] It is not in Chaldea only that soothsayers, whisperers, conjurors, and astrologers appear;[2] while Nineveh itself is called the mistress of witchcrafts.[3] But in connection with Israel also there is mention made of "inquiring at the teraphim, and asking counsel at wood and stone."[4] Ezekiel, the author of Job, and other poets, speak of consulting the entrails and the liver; they refer to the use of arrows as lots, and to those who curse the day, being skilful at rousing up leviathan, that is, to astrological conjurors; and they are familiar with the charming of snakes.[5] Deuteronomy and the historical books presuppose that many varieties of this professional soothsaying were well known to the people. Hence we cannot doubt that this wicked heathen habit was widely prevalent in Israel.[6] Jeremiah is aware of prophets prophesying by Baal, and of still more grievous errors.[7] Isaiah knows that the land is full of foreign superstitions, of the con-

[1] Isa. xix. 3, אובות, אטים, ידעונים.

[2] Ezek. xxi. 26; B. J. xliv. 25, xlvii. 10, 12; cf. Jer. xxvii. 9, l. 36 (בדים, כשפים, חברים, קסמים).

[3] Nahum iii. 4.

[4] Hos. iii. 4, iv. 2; Zech. x. 2; Ezek. xxi. 26.

[5] Ezek. xxi. 26; Job iii. 8; Ps. lviii. 6.

[6] Deut. xviii. 9 ff.; 2 Kings xvii. 17, xxi. 6, xxiii. 24 (in addition to the words already quoted, מעונן, מנחש, שׁאל אוב, דרשׁ אל־המתים).

[7] Jer. ii. 8, xxiii. 13 f.

juring arts of the Philistines and men from the East.[1] Down to the time of the Exile the bad old heathen custom of calling up the ghosts of departed chiefs as manes or Elohim, was evidently quite common; ventriloquists imitated the chirping voices of the spirits dwelling in the tracts of air, and the hollow moaning of those in the underworld;[2] and there also flourished many other kinds of professional soothsaying.[3] Such arts God brings to nought.[4] In notable contrast with this is the picture which the later age gives us of Balaam. Here the poet obviously intends to sketch the figure of a foreign prophet of the olden time, but at the same time one who is inspired by the true God, and over whose strange character and unpurified will the spirit of divine prophecy gains a complete triumph.[5]

Accordingly, after the ninth century the heathen form of prophecy was vigorously and consistently attacked as unworthy of the holy people.[6] In one of its most beautiful passages,[7] the prophetic law expressly declares that it is not the will of God that the people should seek to discover His present and future purposes by any of the superstitious arts of foreign soothsayers. God is willing to raise up prophets out of Israel itself, who shall, like Moses, declare unto the people, without any superstitious mystery, the divine will.[8] The people might themselves have heard this divine voice directly; but they had been unwilling to do so, and in their terror at Horeb they had desired not to hold any further direct inter-

[1] Isa. ii. 6, מקדם, ילדי־נכרים.

[2] Isa. viii. 19; cf. xix. 3, xxix. 4, מצפצף; cf. x. 14, מהגים. The word אלהים in Isa. viii. 19 just means המתים, exactly as in 1 Sam. xxviii. 13 (should not a people consult its Elohim, the dead regarding the living?).

[3] Cf. *e.g.* Isa. viii. 19, xix. 3, 12; Jer. xxvii. 9; Micah v. 11 (also the word חכמים).

[4] B. J. xliv. 25.

[5] Num. xxiii., xxiv.; cf. Micah vi. 5.

[6] Isa. viii. 19 ff.

[7] Deut. xviii. 9 ff. (Num. xxiii. 23).

[8] Whether the word נביא (*Nabi*), in addition to its acknowledged collective meaning of "the prophetic class," has also a special prophetic reference to a particular person, is a question to be put at a later stage.

course with God; and so they now have to listen to these true prophets. In other words, since the moral weakness of the people makes it impossible for each individual to learn God's will directly, the task is entrusted to men in whom the consciousness of this will is clear and powerful. The sign of this divine gift of genuine prophecy is not the power of working miracles. True, this is at the command of God's prophet, but not at his only.[1] Even fulfilled prophecy is not an infallible sign. It is a condition, but not a proof of genuine prophecy.[2] It may even happen that God lets such a prophecy be fulfilled merely as a test, in order to see if His people really love Him so much that no alluring Will-o'-the-wisp can entice them from the right path.[3] The one real proof is the prophet's agreement with the law, his fidelity to the covenant.[4]

Consequently, the opposition to foreign forms of prophecy is, in this period, unmistakable and direct. All the more dangerous, therefore, is the appearance in Israel of a false prophecy, with essentially the same external form as the true. When a prophet prophesies in Israel in the name of other gods than Jehovah, it is easy to unmask him.[5] But it is more difficult when he prophesies in the name of Jehovah something which He never commanded.[6] Even during this period there are still traces of the idea that such false prophecy is due to the anger of God, who sends a lying spirit abroad in order to punish the people by means of false prophecies.[7] In a noteworthy passage in Micah, we find the belief that the false prophets were conscious of their lies, actually combined with the idea of a divine influence working upon them; and the complete cessation of divine communication is represented

[1] Deut. xiii. 2, 3, 6.
[2] Deut. xiii. 3; cf. xviii. 22 (אות with בא).
[3] Deut. xiii. 6.
[4] Deut. xiii. 3-6.
[5] Deut. xviii. 20; cf. Jer. ii. 8, xxiii. 13 f.
[6] Jer. xiv. 14 f., xxiii. 9, 11, 25 f., 30 f.; Ezek. xiii. 9, 23.
[7] Hos. ix. 7 (iv. 5); Isa. xxix. 10; Ezek. xiv. 9 (Deut. xiii. 6).

as really a punishment for their misuse of the prophetic gift.[1] And from a purely historical standpoint, we cannot doubt that men who were proved, by the course of events, to be "false prophets," were often personally quite convinced that they were proclaiming the will of God, especially when they were under the spell of truths of which they had grasped but one side, or continued to be influenced by ideas which in the altered circumstances were no longer in harmony with the real purposes of God.[2]

On the whole, however, false prophecy appeared to the men of God as a wicked profession consciously practised. The liars spoke out of their own hearts what God had not said.[3] The means for such deceit were not far to seek. In the nature of things the prophets had a particular outward appearance and manner of speech. They were known by their coats of skin and their garments of hair.[4] The expressions "Word of the Lord," "Oracle of God," "Thus saith Jehovah," "God hath sworn," were standing formulæ, which the narrative of B and C allows to appear even in patriarchal times.[5] Their calling, however thorny for the conscientious, cannot but have afforded the unscrupulous an easy means of living and a comparatively honourable position. Hence some took to prophesying just for the sake of a livelihood.[6] There were also not a few women who, for a pitiable wage,

[1] Micah iii. 6 ff.; Jer. iv. 10; Ezek. xiv. 9.

[2] This has been specially well emphasised by Duhm in his judgment of Jeremiah's opponents, p. 229.

[3] Jer. xxiii. 16; Ezek. vii. 26, 27, xiii. 2, 3, 10, 17; Micah ii. 11; Zech. xiii. 2 (רוח הטמאה, חזון לבם, הלך רוח); cf. Isa. ix. 14 (gloss) נביא מורה שקר, כזב, חזון שוא, Jer. v. 31, vi. 13, viii. 10; Ezek. xii. 24, xiii. 6 f., xxii. 28; Zeph. iii. 4.

[4] Zech. xiii. 4; cf. 1 Kings xix. 19; 2 Kings i. 8, ii. 13.

[5] On these expressions in detail see later on. Cf. Gen. xxii. 16; 1 Kings xvii. 2, 8, xviii. 1, xxi. 17, xx. 28; 2 Kings vii. 1; especially strong, Jer. xxiii. 25, 33 f., 36, 38; Ezek. xiii. 6 f., xxii. 28 (the interesting phrase, Ps. xxxvi. 2, נאם פֹּשע).

[6] Amos vii. 12 (the connection of "prophesying" and "eating bread"); Micah iii. 5, 11; Zech. xiii. 3, 5; cf. B. J. lvi. 10 f.

deceived people with a stereotyped form of soothsaying, who, as Ezekiel puts it, hunted for souls and killed them.[1] Lying prophets appear at all periods in the kingdom of Judah, and even among the exiles; and Jeremiah evidently draws no real distinction between such prophets and the soothsayers of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon.[2] They have, as it were, conspired together to deceive the people as to its true salvation.[3] Their object is an easy and luxurious life.[4] They never think of standing in the breach and fighting for the people in the day of the Lord. They are for the flock of Israel[5] dumb but greedy dogs. Their anxiety is to stand well with the people, who do not want to have the truth prophesied to them, but desire to hear "flattering words." Hence they delight to prophesy good fortune, to cry "Peace, peace," where there is no peace.[6] And at the same time they make themselves feared: "Whosoever putteth not into their mouth, against him they proclaim a holy war."[7] The thought of effecting a reformation, a conversion of the people, never once occurs to them.[8] They grieve the righteous, they harden the wicked. Thus, on the one hand, they steal the words of the true prophets, to wit, their prophecies of good, in order to employ them on the wrong occasion, without the condition of penitence and conversion on the part of the people.[9] On the other hand, they scoff at the true prophets as dull pedagogues who do not know how to live, whilst they

[1] Ezek. xiii. 17 ff. ; Lam. ii. 14.

[2] Jer. xxix. 8 f., 15, 21, xxvii. 3, 9, 10.

[3] Ezek. xxii. 25.

[4] Isa. xxviii. 7 ; Jer. xxix. 23, 31 ; B. J. lvi. 10 f.

[5] Ezek. xiii. 4 ; B. J. lvi. 10.

[6] Micah ii. 11, iii. 11 ; Isa. xxx. 10 ff. ; B. J. lvi. 10, 11 ; Jer. v. 31, vi. 14, viii. 11, xiv. 13, xx. 6, xxiii. 9 ff., 16 ff., xxvii. 14 ff. ; Ezek. xi. 2 ff., xiii. 10, 16 (to chatter of wine and strong drink).

[7] Micah iii. 5 ; Lam. ii. 14.

[8] Ezek. xiii. 22.

[9] Jer. xxiii. 30. An example is afforded by the oracle which Micah quotes (ii. 12 f.). Such men might often imagine they were speaking quite in the spirit of the true men of God of former days, and would then, in turn, regard their opponents as lying prophets.

themselves imagine they have in their prophecies a sure refuge against death, Hades, and every kind of destruction.[1]

Necessarily such prophets were everywhere hostile to the true prophets. They fought each other with divine oracles and signs.[2] And where this false prophecy got the upper hand and was handed down in particular schools and families, the true prophet had good cause to declare, with deprecating gesture, "I am neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet."[3] Then the expectation could be expressed that in the future there would be no more soothsayers.[4] It is to such prophets that the ruin of the people is really due. They are worse than the prophets of Baal.[5] But God will confound the lying work of such men.[6] Although their outward appearance, perhaps indeed their own consciousness, did not always distinguish them from God's true prophets, still there were unmistakable differences. The judgment of God in the history of the world brings to nought the lies of the false prophets.[7] The true prophet is distinguished from them by the power of the spirit of God, which in good and in evil days is like a fire, or a hammer that breaks the rock in pieces.[8] But the main distinction between the two is, as Jeremiah insists, the thoroughly moral character of the preaching of the true man of God. He never proclaims unconditional happiness and salvation. His word never fails to punish sinners and call them to repentance. Prophets who know how to speak of nothing but happiness and blessing are always false prophets, who speak according to the desires of their own and the people's heart.[9]

[1] Isa. xxviii. 7–18.
[2] So, *e.g.*, Jer. xxviii. 1 ff., 10 ff.; Ezek. xiii. 1 ff.
[3] Amos vii. 14. [4] Zech. xiii. 2 ff. [5] Jer. xxiii.
[6] Isa. xxviii. 19. There will come a time when it will cause nothing but terror to hear a prophecy (Ezek. xiii. 11 ff., xxii. 30).
[7] Deut. xviii. 22; Jer. xxviii. 9, xxxvii. 19; Ezek. xxxiii. 33.
[8] Micah iii. 8; Jer. xxiii. 29. [9] Jer. xxiii. 22, xxviii. 8, 9.

4. Most of the names for "prophet" used in the earlier days point to the character of the prophetic office. They indicate special inspiration, and a knowledge of hidden things, gifts not supposed to be exclusively confined to Israel. The oldest designation is "seers," "gazers;" that is, men to whom, apart from the experience of their bodily senses, God gives power to see things hidden from ordinary people, whether in reference to the future or to the dark regions of the present.[1]

From the inspiration that streamed upon them, and seemed to snatch them away beyond the limits of self-conscious thinking life, they were called "nebiim,"[2] a name that was given even to Moses and Abraham.[3] The ordinary meaning of this word cannot well be doubted. Where the one writer says that Aaron has to serve as "a mouth" to Moses, the other says that Moses must be to Aaron as God, and Aaron to Moses as "nabi."[4] The Hithpael of the verb, which, it is evident, was originally a denominative, means "to go about raving under the constraining influence of a higher power and an irresistible excitement."[5] The connection of the Niphal with a name of God by the preposition בְּ[6] clearly shows that what is meant is "speaking under the influence of a deity, be it the God of Israel or be it Baal."[7] It is quite plain, therefore, that the nabi is one who speaks under the influence of the deity as his

[1] ראה, חזה, 1 Sam. ix. 9. Formerly in Israel when a man went "to inquire" of God, he spake thus, "Come and let us go to the roeh (seer)," for he that is now-a-days called a nabi (prophet) was formerly called roeh (seer). The purposely archaic style of the later age is fond of these terms as well as of the old phrases for prophetic action (2 Chron. xxix. 25, 30; Hagg. i. 2, 13, ii. 1, 20; Zech. i. 1–16, ii. 9–14, iii. 7–10).

[2] נביא.

[3] *E.g.* Deut. xxxiv. 10 (A).

[4] Ex. vii. 1 (A); cf. iv. 16 (C).

[5] Num. xi. 26, 27; 1 Sam. xviii. 10; 1 Kings xviii. 29, התנבא (it can hardly imply, as Redslob maintains, the idea of affectation).

[6] Jer. ii. 8.

[7] So 1 Kings xviii. 19; 2 Kings x. 19; Jer. ii. 8, xxiii. 13 f.

instrument, and without any independence of his own. Certainly a nabi is never a speaker in the usual sense of the word, but a person who, overpowered by the Divine Spirit, utters involuntarily what the Spirit whispers to him. "God seizes his inspired prophet roughly, and the latter shouts out his words in loud and boisterous tones" (Hoffmann).[1]

On its etymological side the question is more difficult. The verb obviously expresses the idea of a dull sound.[2] The noun may be taken either as a passive form, corresponding to the passive participle, or as an active intransitive form.[3] In the first case the nabi would be the recipient of revelation, "the inspired one"; in the second case "the speaker," but in the sense of speaking God's mysterious words. The latter hypothesis seems to me the more probable,[4] because a passive form for "speaking," "murmuring," is in itself improbable. But the idea of "extraordinary," "ecstatic" speaking certainly belongs to the root, as is quite evident from a host of passages.[5] The term "madman" also occurs with a certain affinity to this word, whether used as a term of reproach or in a more neutral sense.[6] The prophet is called "a man of the Spirit,"[7] one upon whom God's Spirit rests, consecrating and anointing him to his office;[8] one who is, to use another metaphor, clothed with

[1] 1 Kings xix. 11–15; Job iv. 16. (The most noteworthy phrase is קול דממה.)

[2] נבע, Hiph., Ps. xix. 3; cf. בוע, נאם, נהם. [3] Ewald's *Gram.* § 149*e*.

[4] Among the Arabs the nabi is the speaker, among the Chaldeans the nabo is the messenger, of the gods. According to Kuenen, it denotes the divinely-inspired fanatics of Canaan. Land's hypothesis is quite improbable, that the word is (like the form נזיר, etc.) a Niphal form, from בוא = ἔνθεος, "one into whom a higher has entered."

[5] 1 Sam. x. 5, 10, xix. 20; 1 Chron. xxv. 2, 3; Jer. xxix. 26.

[6] 1 Sam. xviii. 20; 2 Kings iii. 15, ix. 11; Jer. xxix. 26; Hos. ix. 8. (Here, apparently, the reference is to true prophets of God who are scoffed at, and for whom snares are laid in the temple, מוקש, משתגע).

[7] איש הרוח, Hos. ix. 7.

[8] B. J. xlviii. 16, lxi. 1. "The sense of a universally binding conviction is, to the prophets, a pledge that it is due to something outside of themselves" (Hoffmann).

the Spirit as with a garment.[1] The hand of God, called also simply "The hand," takes a grip of him;[2] he is the instrument of a higher power.[3] He receives words out of God's mouth,[4] so that he speaks God's word,[5] announces His oracle,[6] and proclaims the declaration of the Lord,[7] the oath of God.[8] In an archaic expression, purposely retained, the prophet is called the man who heareth the words of God "with eyes closed, but with the inner eye open," who falls prostrate under the influence of a higher power.[9]

Other names are intended to denote the special characteristics of the Old Testament prophet. Whether these were already employed in the earliest periods of prophecy can hardly be determined. The name of the town, Ramathaim-Zophim, can scarcely refer to the prophets as watchmen.[10] And we are as little able to ascertain whether the title of honour, "servant of Jehovah,"[11] which is applied in later days to Moses, was an epithet in use in the olden times. On the other hand, it is certain that the prophets were early described as "men of God."[12] And in the prophetic period

[1] לבוּשׁ, 2 Chron. xxiv. 20. צלח על, 1 Sam. x. 6, xvi. 13. נפל על, Ezek. xi. 5.

[2] Isa. viii. 11; Ezek. iii. 14, 22, viii. 3, xxxiii. 22, xxxvii. 1, xl. 1.

[3] Isa. xx. 2.

[4] Num. xxiii. 5, 12, 16; Deut. xviii. 18; Ezek. xxxiii. 7. (Deut. i. 26, 43, ix. 23.)

[5] דבר יהוה in countless passages.

[6] נאם יהוה, really = "that which is murmured," oracle; *e.g.* Amos ii. 11, 16; Micah iv. 6, v. 9.

[7] משׂא דבר יהוה, from נשׂא קול, "an elevated utterance;" *e.g.* Isa. xxi. 1, 2, 11, 13, xxii. 1; Nahum i. 1; in later times distorted into "burden," Jer. xxiii. 31 ff.

[8] נשׁבע יהוה, *e.g.* Zeph. ii. 9; B.J. xiv. 24, xlv. 23; cf. כה אמר יהוה, Ezek. iii. 11, 27; already in 1 Sam. ii. 27, x. 18.

[9] Num. xxiv. 3 ff.; B. J. l. 4, 5.

[10] 1 Sam. i. 1.

[11] עבד יהוה, of Moses, *e.g.* Josh. xiv. 7, xviii. 7 (A).

[12] איׁש האלהים of Moses, Josh. xiv. 6 (A). But of others already in Judg. xiii. 6 ff.; 1 Sam. ii. 27, ix. 6, 7, 10. The expression is a standing one as applied to Elijah and Elisha.

such expressions become more and more prevalent, the more it is acknowledged that the real characteristic of a prophet's task is to work in behalf of Israel's God among His people, and to counteract ungodliness and forgetfulness of duty. Their life is not their own. Even where flesh and blood would rebel against the suffering, and the mouth would refuse to utter the name of God,[1] they must speak. It is in their heart as a burning fire, and they cannot endure it.[2] They are given no rest, no joy, no security. None of the ordinary pleasures of men are theirs. They endure reproach for God's sake. They who accept the word of God with eagerness must go about mournful and sad in the midst of general levity.[3] They must often curse the day of their birth.[4] When they would desert their calling, God is too strong for them. He talks them over,[5] or His almighty power compels them to return to the vocation they would gladly quit.[6] Like new wine in new bottles, God's spirit ferments within them, compelling them to speak without respect of persons.[7] They are not their own, but God's[8]; servants of God,[9] who stand[10] before Him as attendants.

This difficult position of theirs is at the same time a position of the highest dignity. As God's servants they are consecrated, having their lips purified;[11] called when in their mother's womb, ay, even acknowledged and sanctified before God formed them in the womb; men sent from God with His spirit.[12] Fired and strengthened by the Divine Spirit, they go

[1] Jer. xx. 7.
[2] Jer. xx. 9; cf. vi. 11, xii. 5 ff.; Amos iii. 8; Jonah i. 13.
[3] Jer. xv. 15 ff., xx. 7 f.; B. J. l. 4 ff.
[4] Jer. xv. 10, xx. 14 ff.; 1 Kings xix. 10. [5] Jer. xx. 7.
[6] Jon. i. 3 ff., ii. 1, 11; cf. Num. xxii. 8 ff., 12 ff., 18 ff., xxiii. 8, xxiv. 13.
[7] The expression in Elihu's speech, Job xxxii. 18 ff.
[8] Jer. xxxv. 1; 1 Kings xii. 22, xiii. 1, 4, 7, 13 ff., xvii. 18, 24.
[9] Isa. xx. 3; Jer. vii. 25, xxv. 4, xxvi. 5, xxix. 19, xxxv. 15; Zech. i. 6; 2 Kings xvii. 13, xxi. 10, xxiv. 2.
[10] Jer. xviii. 20; 1 Kings x. 8, xvii. 1; 2 Kings iii. 14, v. 16.
[11] Isa. vi. 4 ff.; cf. Micah iii. 8; Jer. i. 9.
[12] Jer. i. 5; B. J. xlviii. 16, xlix. 1 ff.

forth to preach the word of God.[1] Ezekiel must eat the whole book of the divine prophecies. It has to be sweet unto him; that is to say, conscious of being God's ambassador, he gladly discharges the duties of his office, hard though they are from a human standpoint.[2] Hence the words of the prophets are "instruction and testimony," of which the people must keep a firm hold; and they themselves are signs and wonders from Jehovah unto Israel.[3] Hence their intercession is effectual. They can appear in behalf of the sinful people with good hope of being heard,[4] and their prayers are in great request.[5] These are regarded as so efficacious that when God can no longer show mercy, He actually forbids the prophets to pray for the lost and ruined people.[6] In fact, whatever is done to them is done to God Himself.[7]

As God's servants, the prophets are watchmen set over Israel,—an expression first employed in a purely poetical way in popular proverbs, but afterwards used as an actual designation. In the night, which hides from the unconsecrated eye the purposes of God, they stand on their watch-tower, their glances piercing the darkness of that night, and discerning coming events before the people can understand them. They are thus able to raise the alarm in time, so that none need perish unwarned, or the courage and faith of the people be lost in doubt.[8] They are sentinels,—a term used indeed very

[1] Jer. i. 7, xxiii. 29; Ezek. iii. 10, 14; Zech. vii. 12.

[2] Ezek. ii. 9 f., iii. 3.

[3] Isa. viii. 16, 20.

[4] Deut. ix. 14, 19 f., 26 f., x. 10; 1 Sam. xii. 19, 23; 2 Kings xix. 4; Amos vii. 2, 5.

[5] Isa. xxxvii. 4; Jer. xv. 11, xxxvii. 3 ff., xlii. 2; cf. Num. xxii. 6.

[6] Jer. vii. 16, xi. 14, xiv. 11, xxvii. 18; cf. Gen. xx. 7 (C); 1 Kings xvii. 1; 2 Kings vi. 17, 18; cf. 1 John v. 16.

[7] Zech. xi. 12 ff., xii. 10 ff.

[8] שׁמר, Isa. xxi. 11, still used quite in the popular song style. B. J. lxii. 6; Ezek. iii. 17, xxxiii. 7. So, too, the מליצים of B. J. xliii. 27 are probably the prophets of Israel who act as interpreters between God and His people, like the angels in Job xxxiii. 23.

loosely and with many shades of meaning,[1] but still with special reference to the foreseeing by the prophets of misfortunes still in the future.[2] God holds them responsible if the members of the nation perish unwarned.[3] They are compared to the smelter, who has to separate the dross from the precious metal of God's people.[4] They are shepherds entrusted with the duty of safely guiding the national flock, and guarding it from mishaps.[5]

In post-exilic times, when the old simple notions about heavenly messengers began to be replaced by a more elaborate angelology, the prophets, like the priests,[6] were spoken of as God's commissioners by the old name of messengers from heaven, "angels," "messengers."[7]

5. The conduct of the prophets of the earlier days we have to picture to ourselves as violent and extraordinary. But even then, in contrast with the prophets of the orgiastic worship of Canaan, the chief means which they employed was the word, the proclaiming of God's will regarding the pressing questions of the day. It was so in the case of men like Moses,[8] Nathan and Gad, Elijah and Elisha. In later times this is perfectly self-evident. In fact, the ancient forms of ecstasy pass over into the ordinary forms of speech. Without noticing the contradiction in terms, people speak of "seeing the word of God"; and a "vision" means nothing more than "revelation."[9] The prophets speak by God's commission. The truth of their utterance is self-evidencing, and requires

[1] צפים, מצפים, Hos. ix. 8. Ephraim is on the outlook against God. B. J. lvi. 10 f., of prophets untrue to their calling.

[2] Hab. ii. 1; Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. xxxiii. 2, 7. In Micah vii. 4, the day of the sentinels means "the day foretold by the prophets." 2 Sam. xviii. 24 shows that sentinel and watchman are virtually synonymous.

[3] Ezek. iii. 17 ff., xxxiii. 1 ff.

[4] Jer. vi. 27.

[5] Zech. xi. 4 ff.

[6] Mal. iii. 1; Eccles. v. 5.

[7] B. J. xliv. 26; Hag. i. 13.

[8] A, Ex. vi. 12, 30, vii. 1; C, Ex. iv. 10, 16.

[9] Isa. i. 1, ii. 1, xxi. 2; Jer. ii. 31; Amos i. 1; Micah i. 1; Hab. i. 1; Num. xxiii. 3. The peculiar expression in Isa. xxviii. 15, 18 is probably due to the corruption of the text.

no corroboration. What they communicate they feel to be due to an imperative inward call.

The earlier prophets were very far from having a connected and harmonious religious system to develop and proclaim to the people. The revelations made to them were watchwords for the complications of their own time, exhortations to be faithful to Jehovah and to the customs of the fathers, words of warning and of consolation. They communicated to the people short authoritative sayings and divine commands. They grasped with firm hand the wheels of the State chariot, even when the drivers gave them but little thanks.

The confidence displayed by the prophets in their vocation was due to the consciousness that they were speaking, not of themselves "out of their own heart," [1] but as commissioners sent by God. Hence they felt themselves endowed with an authority which no one could possibly call in question. Whatever they spoke and did was for them the word and deed of God. Hence they can, as God's favoured servants, intercede effectually for others. The hosts of heaven are seen encamped around them.[2] When the spirit of God lays hold of them and compels them to speak, they claim obedience for their unsupported word. And as, according to popular recollection, the congregation of Israel, in spite of all its murmuring, followed Moses in all essential matters; so the bitter hatred of the idolatrous party in Samaria, and the vacillation of the fickle king, never succeeded in crippling the influence of Elijah or Elisha.[3] Saul, though at the head of his victorious army, does not venture to resist the word of Samuel.[4] Eli bows at once to the divine message;[5] and David, amid all his glory, submits humbly to Nathan's

[1] Num. xvi. 28. Particularly worthy of note is 2 Sam. vii. 1–3, cf. 4, where Nathan at first speaks according to the view that suggested itself to his own mind, but afterwards the divine voice makes him come to an opposite conclusion.

[2] 2 Kings vi. 17.

[3] 1 Kings xxi. 20 ff., 27 ff.; 2 Kings iii. 13 ff.

[4] 1 Sam. xv. 21 (certainly later).

[5] 1 Sam. ii. 27 ff.

reproof.[1] Without arms, without the prestige of priestly consecration, without learning and human wisdom, the prophets claim obedience, and are conscious of their influence over the magnates of the nation.[2] And although an Elijah suffers persecution as an enemy to the king, and the sons of the prophets are put to death;[3] although a Micah, "who always prophesies evil against the king," is put into prison till the truth of his words is proved,[4] nevertheless their influence is constantly reasserted, and is always a factor of the utmost importance. A true prophet of God, by his prayers and his knowledge of the divine will, by his warnings against the danger of wrong enterprises, is "the chariot of Israel and the horseman thereof."[5] He is to the people like a defending army. The prophets warn kings, change dynasties by a word, counsel princes, prevent wicked wars.[6] Even over foreign kings they exercise a guiding influence, because "God" speaks in them.[7] The history of Nathan, it is true, shows clearly that they themselves did not always draw the line very strictly between activity in purely party politics and their work as prophets.[8] And, on the other hand, they are personages so dedicated to God that it may easily be dangerous for "sinful mortals" to come into close contact with such men of God, who may bring their sins to their remembrance.[9]

The characteristics that distinguish Hebrew prophets, not only from mere enthusiasts, but also from priests, come out with much greater clearness after the eighth century. Outwardly, they are just ordinary private people. Isaiah was, we know, a married man of good position living in the

[1] 2 Sam. xii. 13 ff.; cf. xxiv. 11 ff.
[2] 2 Kings iv. 13.
[3] 1 Kings xviii. 4, 9 ff., 17 f., xix. 2 ff., 9 ff.
[4] 1 Kings xxii. 8, 18.
[5] 2 Kings ii. 12, xiii. 14.
[6] 2 Kings vi. 9; 1 Kings xi. 29, xii. 22, xvi. 1, 12, xx. 13, 21.
[7] 1 Kings xix. 15 f.; 2 Kings iii. 12, viii. 7 f., 12 f., ix. 2; Jer. xxvii. 1 ff.
[8] 1 Kings i. 11 f., 22.
[9] 1 Kings xvii. 18, 24; 2 Kings iv. 9 (קדוש); Luke v. 8.

metropolis. Even a prophetess like Huldah was married.[1] If the prophets acted as medical practitioners,[2] it was simply because the wise men of antiquity and the priests were everywhere in the habit of practising the healing art. With the affairs of the kingdom and with public worship the prophets no longer interfered actively. They simply gave advice, and that they did by applying to the present and its cares the standard of God's eternal thoughts. When Ezekiel, who, in fact, can be called a prophet only in a limited sense, sketches not merely an ideal picture of the future theocratic State and its sanctuary, but actually writes down "a law" for the temple and the altar, which the children of Israel are to keep as a model for the final era,[3] that is merely a form of legislative activity due to prophetic revelation; a form, too, in which the influence of Ezekiel's priestly descent makes itself distinctly felt. It is practically the same as when the Deuteronomist codifies the customs of Mosaism according to new principles, and when A sets up a complete system of sacred ritual for the final era as "the Law of Moses."

A prophetic speech no longer consists mainly of short, dark, oracular sayings, but of consecutive, logical, artistically-constructed lectures. For a prophet of this period, the plea "I cannot speak" would be a much greater disqualification for office than it formerly was for Moses.[4] The weapon of the prophets is the lecture. Hence, when God calls them, He makes their mouth a sword; gives them, even though they are not sons of a prophet, "the tongue of the learned" —that is to say, of those who have learned to speak as prophets should.[5] And whatever they say or do symbolically as prophets, they feel to be the direct expression and outflow of knowledge received from God.[6] They distinguish clearly

[1] 2 Kings xxii. 14; cf. Isa. vii. 3, viii. 3 ff.
[2] Isa. xxxviii. 21.
[3] *E.g.* Ezek. xliii. 10, 12, 18, xliv. 5.
[4] Jer. i. 6; cf. Ex. vi. 12, 30, vii. 1, iv. 10, 14, 16.
[5] Jer. i. 9, v. 14; cf. B. J. xlix. 2, l. 4.
[6] *E.g.* Isa. vi. 9, vii. 3, viii. 1, 6 ff., xx. 2.

between what their own heart tells them and what makes itself felt by them as a constraining divine influence. If they are in doubt, they first wrestle in prayer for the assurance by which they may know that they are speaking God's word regarding the people.[1] Occasionally, indeed, it is only by the fulfilment of a prophecy that they learn that a thought which had arisen in their hearts was a word that came from God. But, as a rule, they know quite clearly that in pursuing their vocation they are speaking God's word.[2] Thus they can fearlessly say the most disagreeable things to their rulers and princes, under the conviction that they are speaking with a higher than earthly authority.[3] God is with them, and neither prince nor people can overawe them.[4] Whether, therefore, in the discharge of their duty, they speak or keep silence,[5] punish and threaten, or praise and promise; whether they perform symbolical, or even miraculous acts,[6] or simply take the usual steps required by their profession, as, for example, the writing down of their own words,[7]—whatever they do in their vocation with the consciousness of a higher necessity, *that* God does through them.

Accordingly, backed as they are by the omnipotence of God, they never doubt as to their word being efficient. The words of the prophets determine the course of events. Their prophecies have a mighty influence on the destiny of the world. Their blessing, like their curse, is of decisive importance, though, of course, only when it proceeds from God; for no groundless curse ever takes effect.[8] They build up

[1] Jer. xlii. 2, 7 (6, 9, 20). [2] Jer. xxxii. 8.
[3] Amos vii. 16 ff.; Isa. xxii. 15 f.; Jer. xx. 3 (xxxvi. 30, xxxvii. 7).
[4] Jer. i. 8, 17, 19, xv. 19 ff., xx. 11 ff.; Ezek. ii. 6 ff., iii. 9.
[5] Ezek. iii. 24 ff., xxix. 21, xxxiii. 22 (xxiv. 17, 27).
[6] Isa. vii. 11 ff., xx. 2 f.; Jer. xiii. 1, xviii. 2, xix. 1 ff., 10, xxvii. 1, xxviii. 12 ff., xliii. 8.
[7] *E.g.* Deut. i. 19, ii. 4, 9, 13, 17; Isa. vii. 3 ff., viii. 1 ff., xxii. 15; Jer. xiii. 3, 6, xvii. 19, xxii. 1, xxvi. 2 (Isa. xxx. 8; Hab. ii. 2; Jer. xxx. 2, xxxvi. 2, 27).
[8] Prov. xxvi. 2 (Micah vi. 5; Num. xxii.–xxiv.).

and pull down; they harden and convert.[1] For what they say and do is the expression of the will of Him whose hand guides and controls the universe.

Since the words they speak professionally are of such moment, a clear line of demarcation must be drawn between such words and the wishes with which the human heart of a prophet is filled. True, both often coincide. Hosea prays for the divine retribution which he foretells.[2] But, as Riehm rightly insists, Jeremiah distinguishes very emphatically between the prophecy of disaster which, as God's commissioner, he has to deliver, and the patriotic wish of his own heart, which would have preferred the false prophecy of Hananiah.[3] Even when the human hearts of the prophets shudder with fear,[4] or are touched with sympathetic sorrow because of the unhappy fate of Israel and other peoples;[5] even when they do not wish for the disastrous day,[6] they must follow the higher voice of truth which announces itself to them as the voice of God. They must bear testimony to this divine will, even where there is no prospect of producing an effect on man. Whether Israel gives ear or not, the prophet must speak; the people must know that there is a prophet among them.[7]

6. The way in which the prophets themselves became conscious of the revelations made to them naturally varied in the course of this history, and, even within the same period, it oscillated between certain extremes. As the Greeks distinguished between ecstatic soothsaying and conscious prophecy, and as Paul distinguishes between speaking in unknown

[1] Isa. vi. 9; Jer. i. 10, 17, v. 14; Ezek. xxxii. 18. I also understand Hos. vi. 5 to mean, "God smites by means of the prophets; He slays by the words of His mouth," not, "He smites at the prophets."

[2] Hos. ix. 14; cf. Jer. xi. 20.

[3] Jer. xxviii. 6 (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1865, 16 N. 6).

[4] B. J. xxi. 3 ff., xxiv. 16.

[5] Isa. xv. 5, xvi. 9, xxii. 4; Micah i. 8; Jer. iv. 19, viii. 18, 21, 22, ix. 1 f., x. 19, xxiii. 9, xlviii. 31 f.; Ezek. xi. 13.

[6] Jer. xvii. 16.

[7] Ezek. ii. 3–6, iii. 11, 27 (2 Kings v. 8).

tongues and prophesying,[1] and recognises the latter as the higher, because implying full self-consciousness; so in Hebrew antiquity, also, we have both forms.

But we cannot doubt that, in the earlier times, the usual form of prophecy was ecstasy, the form most akin to speaking with tongues. It was when in a state of rapture, transported out of the calm of their ordinary thought and judgment, that the prophets lived through moments of direct communion with God, and found in visions the solution of the questions which perplexed their hearts. Such is still the view taken in the late narrative, which makes a part of the spirit of Moses be put upon the elders in quite a concrete material fashion, so that they "prophesy" in holy excitement, and even those not personally touched are affected.[2] In like manner, the sacred music and dancing have such an effect on Saul that he joins in, and flings himself on the ground naked, in a state of rapture, as the fakirs do in the East[3] at the present day. By the playing of a minstrel, Elisha has his spirit excited until the hand of God comes upon him.[4] In the ear of Samuel, asleep in the sanctuary, a voice sounds, calling him again and again, until Eli explains its meaning to him.[5] God lays His hand on Elijah, so that he runs in front of the king's chariot when going at full speed.[6] After being fed by angels, he travels for forty days and forty nights to Horeb.[7] According to the legend in B, it is by a festive meal that Isaac works himself into the mood for uttering a prophetic blessing.[8] Balaam is represented as forcibly con-

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 2, 3. [2] Num. xi. 17–26.

[3] 1 Sam. x. 6 ff.; cf. xix. 20–24; 2 Kings ii. 8, 13; Isa. xx. 2. Illustrations from the domain of Islam are given in Dozy (*Islamisme*, 399); Lane, ii. 39; *All the Year Round*, 1860, Feb. 4 (Melbush, *i.e.* "clothed" with the spirit of God). One is reminded of the naked dervishes and their eccentric conduct.

[4] 2 Kings iii. 15.

[5] 1 Sam. iii. 3 ff. How closely akin this is to incubation is self-evident; cf. Job iv. 13 ff.; *Odyss.* iv. 839.

[6] 1 Kings xviii. 46. [7] 1 Kings xix. 8. [8] Gen. xxvii. 4, 25, 31.

strained to deliver the oracle which is opposed to his own desire. It is only from this standpoint that the people could call the seers "madmen,"[1] and that it could seem strange to a later age that the word of God was communicated without dream or rapture to Moses when in full possession of his senses.[2] As prose grew out of poetry, so the quiet lecture grew out of the impassioned harangue, and out of ecstatic rapture came the distinct consciousness of divine inspiration.

Naturally this rapture was not of long duration, but it recurred in moments of excitement, when God "opened the ear of the seer to understand His word."[3] In these days the object of the prophecy, as the very word "seer" indicates, must have generally been presented to the eye as something seen, "a vision" in the true sense of the word.[4] What the prophets were to communicate to the people in answer to their questions was received by them when in a state of spiritual excitement, in most cases probably, in dreams by night.[5] Direct certainty as to the questions and difficulties with which they were burdened was not obtained consciously by meditation and study, but grasped by an excited fancy, and therefore in a sensuous garb. And even when the men of God were describing such visions to the people, the representation threw them into a state of passionate excitement. They lived over again, as it were, the moments of rapture.

Symbolical action, too, was in the earlier times, as several examples prove,[6] a particularly favourite form of prophetic

[1] Especially Num. xxii. 8 ff., ἐγκοίμησις.

[2] Num. xii. 6; Deut. xxxiv. 10 (A). True, A has already lost the proper conception of prophecy.

[3] 1 Sam. ix. 15; cf. xx. 2.

[4] חזה is used in the older prophets of gazing at actual visions (Hos. xii. 8). The בחידות in Num. xii. 8 supposes a state of still higher excitement of the imagination than does the word of Jehovah, which goes straight to the question at issue (Hoffmann).

[5] When a man has been racking his brains over a problem till far on in the night, he continues to do so even when half-asleep.

[6] 1 Kings xi. 30 ff., xx. 35, xxii. 11 ff.

expression. A person not accustomed to abstract reasoning gets a more vivid impression from what his eye sees, than from what is merely described to him in words. And a symbolical act, owing to its greater directness, has more force, and is therefore more in keeping with the distinctive character of the prophets of that age, than the ordinary lecture. In such an action, a threat, promise, or advice is so presented to the senses that the action becomes a sign (אות). In the sphere of language what comes nearest to this is the parable or allegory, a fine example of which is given us in Nathan's rebuke of David.[1]

Of course, even among the prophets of the eighth century and later, the state of rapture in which a man loses his mental consciousness is by no means rare. In these times, also, we are told that God's hand lays hold of the prophet; God whispers in his ear; in the twilight thoughts come upon him from God;[2] he falls down, that is to say, is thrown down, in a rapture.[3] But such forms of prophecy were no longer the rule, and they became always less and less frequent. For example, although dreams are occasionally regarded as ordinary occurrences in the life of a prophet,[4] many men of the Chaldean age actually attached an evil meaning to them as compared with the express word of God.[5] The words "see," "gaze," "vision" are often used so indefinitely that they can mean nothing more than a divine communication, and do not in any sense imply the notion of ecstasy.[6] By far

[1] 2 Sam. xii. 1 ff.; Judg. ix. 8 ff.

[2] *E.g.* Isa. viii. 11, xxii. 1, 5, 14; B. J. xxi. 4. [3] Num. xxiv. 6.

[4] Deut. xiii. 2, 4, 6. A beautiful description of such dream-visions is given in Job iv. 13 ff., "Then a breath passed over my face, the hair of my flesh stood up. There it stood, I could not discern the form thereof; an image was before mine eyes; I heard a low whispering voice" (cf. 1 Kings xix. 12). The dream is also alluded to in many other passages of Job (vii. 14, xxxiii. 15 f., xx. 8).

[5] Jer. xxiii. 25, 28, 32; Zech. x. 2. It includes the trickery of professional prophecy.

[6] Prov. xxix. 18; Nahum i. 1; Obad. 1; Hos. xii. 11; Joel iii. 1; Lam. ii. 9, 14; Ezek. vii. 26; cf. the previously mentioned combination of חזה with דבר יהוה, and such like.

the more common way is to receive a revelation consciously, without any other enthusiasm than the lofty tone which a warm and healthy spiritual life implies. This was, it is certain, of a more impassioned character than the circumstances of modern European life produce, but nothing unusual in that age and among that people. Such is the impression which we inevitably get from the writings of the greatest prophets, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. The form of their address was essentially the same as that of an evangelical sermon of the present day, or an animated and eloquent popular speech. It showed the absolute sincerity of the speaker's faith, it judged the present by the great principles of true religion; and in these it found certainty for the future. It was intelligible to the people, and was raised above ordinary speech, not by any artistic form exclusively its own, but by the directness of its inspiration. Its characteristics are all essentially moral. The object of the prophet's word is to proclaim to the people their sin, to bid them repent and believe.[1]

In this age theophanies occur only in the form of visions;[2] and the post-exilic prophets are again fonder of this form than the earlier prophets are.[3] But when we examine the visions which are related to us since the time of Amos, we cannot doubt that they are in most cases only a poetic dress consciously adopted, that is to say, poetry is purposely employed in order to present a spiritual truth clearly to the people in the form which they understand and like. Sometimes this intention is made quite plain by a play upon words; the dress is put on so very loosely that every one can see the real object.[4] In such cases, therefore, the revelations are not conceived in the imagination as pictures, but are recom-

[1] B. J. lviii. 1.

[2] *E.g.* Ezek. 1 ff., 10 ff.

[3] Amos vii. 1 ff., 4 ff., 7 ff., viii. 1, ix. 1; Jer. xxiv. 1 ff.; especially Ezek. i. 1, 4–28, iii. 1 ff., 12 ff., 22 ff., viii. 3, xi. 24, ix. 1 ff., xl. 2; Zech. i.–vi.

[4] Isa. vi. 1 ff.; Jer. i. 11 f., xvi. 1 ff., 5 ff., xxv. 15; Ezek. xxi. 25 ff. (on the other hand, it is possible to interpret Ezek. viii. 3, xi. 24, of actual visions).

bined by it into pictures.[1] They are then akin to the parable, which, though rare, is presented in a most masterly style;[2] or to the proverb, which is very frequent, especially in Ezekiel.[3]

It is much the same with a symbolical act. The prophets still perform such acts in order to produce a lasting impression upon the people through their senses, to give them, as it were, a visible pledge of the invisible truth.[4] But very often even these are but an oratorical, poetical form, mere drapery. Instead of expressing a threat or a promise in naked words, the prophets clothe them in a story.[5] They tell of something they were ordered to do, or of something they did, although the thing need not on that account have actually happened or been even possible. And here the parable so closely resembles a symbolic act which is merely related, not performed, that in both even the form of presentation is often quite similar.[6]

The effect which the prophets produced by their preaching and by everything connected therewith, was, from the eighth century onwards, increased and perpetuated by their writings.

[1] Already in Ezekiel and Zechariah we find masks instead of persons, and in Num. xii. 6–8 there is no longer a trace of the spirit of genuine ancient prophecy (Hoffmann).

[2] Isa. v. 1–7 (Hos. xii. 11 reckons the דמה among the characteristics of a prophet).

[3] Num. xxiii. 7, 18, xxiv. 3; Hab. ii. 6; Ezek. xvii. 2, xix. 1, 14, xxvi. 17, xxvii. 1 ff., 32, xxxii. 2 ff. (xxi. 5, Engl. xx. 49, this is made a subject of direct reproach against Ezekiel); Amos v. 1; Micah ii. 4 (משל, חידה, נהי, קינה).

[4] Isa. xx. 2; Jer. xix. 1 ff., 10 ff., xxvii. 1 ff., xxviii. 12 ff., xviii. 2 f., xxxii. 6 ff., xliii. 8 ff.; Ezek. xii. 3 ff., 18 ff., xxi. 11 ff., xxiv. 15 ff., xxxvii. 16.

[5] Ezek. iv. 1, 4 ff., 9 ff., v. 1 ff., vi. 11. Zech. xi. 4–14 is a remarkable weaving together of actual events with a parable as to God's office as Shepherd. If in Jer. xiii. 1 ff. the "Phrat" is taken to mean the Euphrates, as it does everywhere else, then, of course, we have mere drapery. If, on the other hand, it means the well "Farah" beside Anathoth, as Schick (Ausland 1867, 24) thinks, an actual performance of the act would be possible. As for Hos. i.–iii., I am still of opinion, in opposition to the majority of modern interpreters, that we have here not actual events in the prophet's family life, but an allegory. Not to speak of the fact that the prophet cannot possibly have taken such stories to be a revelation of God to himself, it is not conceivable that two so very similar events should have happened to him within so short a period.

[6] Ezek. xxiv. 3.

They not only placed single important sentences out of their prophecies before the people's eyes in the form of monumental inscriptions,[1] in order to imprint them on the popular memory, and wrote letters to those at a distance in order to increase their influence over them also;[2] but they were in the habit of gathering the whole results of their prophetic activity into one or more collections, generally by the help of their most intimate followers and scholars, and then leaving them to posterity in the form of a book.[3] Naturally they did not repeat everything which they had spoken to the people on special occasions: they were not simply their own transcribers. The speeches of several years they arranged together in short extracts, as, *e.g.*, in Isa. vii.–xi. all the prophet's work during the period from the invasion of Rezin and Pekah till the break down of the coalition is condensed into a few chapters. By giving prominence to what was most important, and by adding supplements, they made, as it were, a new work. Thus we read of Jeremiah that he collected, by divine command, the revelations he had received from God, and that when this book was destroyed, he on replacing it added "many like words."[4] In later times, and especially when free public speech was no longer possible, as in Babylon, or when the subject was not suitable for a popular address, as in the last section of Ezekiel, the prophets put before the people in writing even speeches that had never been publicly delivered.

These prophetical writings had, in turn, the greatest influence on the whole development of religion; only now could a consecutive series of efforts be begun by the prophets. Each prophet could choose as models those of his predecessors who were specially akin to him in spirit. This

[1] Isa. viii. 1 ff., xxx. 8 ff.; Hab. ii. 2. [2] Jer. xxix. 1.

[3] Jer. xxxvi. 4, 32; Isa. viii. 16. Isa. i.–xi., xiv. 28–xxiii.; Hosea, Micah, Amos, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and others were put together in this way.

[4] Jer. xxx. 2, xxxvi. 2; cf. xxvii. 32.

use, for proof of which I must refer my readers to books on Old Testament Introduction, begins very early. Less highly gifted ages had thus access to the divine springs which had flowed freely in happier days. It was only the age after Ezra that saw the ancient Scriptures appealed to as an acknowledged and infallible authority, and the prophets turned into scribes.

7. The predicting of future events is not the chief function of prophecy. The great prophets that follow Amos lay far more stress on the doctrinal teaching, which makes the eternal truths of God the standard by which to judge the present and its moral transgressions. But as "oracles" were in the earlier ages what was most sought for, both from prophet and from priest, so in later times hardly anything important was undertaken without a word from God,[1] whether the prophet obtained it simply from his own inner consciousness, or sought information in some special way about the matter in question. The prophets undoubtedly engaged both in prophesying and in soothsaying, two, in themselves, perfectly distinct modes of foretelling the future; and they practised both arts without drawing any conscious distinction.

Prophesying is inseparably connected with the prophetic calling, and stands in the closest possible connection with the duty of warning and guiding the people. Whoever has with the eye of the Divine Spirit been watching the present, and the conditions of the past that led up to it, is thereby made certain of the future also. For, on the human side, this depends on the real contents of the past and the present; on the divine side, on the everlastingly just and impartial love of the Divine Being and His willingness to save. Hence the ways of God in regard to the salvation of His people, in so far as they are within the sphere of salvation, must lie within the range of a prophet's vision; and this is just the gift of pro-

[1] Jer. xxii. 12, 19, 30, xxviii. 16, xxix. 22, xxxvi. 30, xxxvii. 7 ff., 17, xxxviii. 14, xxi. 1 f.; Ezek. xiv. 1, 8, xx. 1, 31, xxiv. 1 (xii. 12 f.), (2 Kings xx. 1–5, xxii. 13).

phesying. It is not a mere forecasting of the future from the circumstances of the present, any more than the assurance of faith due to a revelation of the divine life is the same as a philosophical view. No doubt both will coincide in many points whenever the forecast and the philosophical speculation are at once acute and sagacious. But their source and the kind of conviction they produce are fundamentally different. In prophecy, as in faith, there is a personal certainty, which is in no way disturbed by errors in calculation. Consequently this is communicated to others also, without argument, simply through the influence of personal contact, because in their case, too, the power of truth produces its effect on the human heart. It is only with this explanation that one can assent to Schleiermacher's definition: "When one half of a religious event has been given, every religious anticipation of the other half is prophecy."

Prophecy is thus the prophet's application to the future, of his certainty as to the eternal laws of the Divine Being and Will and as to the final goal of salvation, in so far as that future is of importance for the present, and is connected with the sphere of religion and morals. This certainty can of itself arise quite as well in a condition of special spiritual excitement and enthusiasm, as in the tranquil course of conscious spiritual meditation. In earlier times the former must have been the usual method; in later times the latter, but still always in combination with the former. Now in its essence prophecy is neither magical nor unnatural, but a conviction of a really moral and religious nature. Its proper object is exclusively the history of the kingdom of God. Where prophecies against or concerning heathen nations occur, these are considered solely in relation to the people of God. They are never the real object of prophecy, which takes notice of them only as having a bearing on the objects of the kingdom of God. But the real object of prophecy is Israel. When he takes to evil courses, his destruction is foretold, and every

foreign power becomes God's rod of correction with which to threaten him. But behind all threats there stands the everlasting covenant with the people which cannot be broken God's covenant love which never grows cold. Such genuine prophesying is, of course, only the fruit of a long history of prophecy. Israel can scarcely have known it previous to B, C, Amos, and Hosea.

Soothsaying is something quite different from this. It is knowledge, professed or actual, of a coming event, in all its details and contingencies, no matter to what category that event belongs. It has nothing to do with the inner course of history, with the Divine Spirit moving therein. It prefers to search out details, things which stand in no inner connection with the fundamental moral principles of history and its eternal laws. While prophecy only touches an individual where great moral principles come to fulfilment in him, or where the history of salvation is interwoven with his, soothsaying deals, by preference, with the destiny of individuals. While in prophecy details belong purely to the poetic form, soothsaying takes special delight in choosing as its subject, times, names, and numbers. Where soothsaying is not due to trickery or self-deception, it must be connected with that dark and mysterious realm of spiritual life in which a special unnatural excitement and one-sided enlargement of particular faculties of the soul awaken presentiments which are taken for certainties. Undoubtedly the old Hebrews, like every other ancient nation, saw in such phenomena divine communications. In ancient Israel, indeed, they probably constituted a by no means inconsiderable part of its religious life. Soothsaying, it is true, was not an exclusive possession of the prophets. A person who wished to "consult God"[1] betook himself as

[1] Gen. xxv. 22 (xxiv. 57); Ex. xvii. 1, xviii. 15, 19, xxxiii. 7; Lev. xxiv. 12; Num. iii. 16, 39, iv. 37, 41, 45, 49, ix. 8, 9, 18, 20, 23, x. 11, 13, 29, xiii. 2, xv. 35, xxxiii. 2, 38 (cf. by the hand of Moses); Josh. ix. 14; Judg. i. 1; 2 Sam. xxi. 1 (cf. 2 Kings vi. 9, vii. 1, 2, viii. 1).

readily, probably more readily, to the priests with their ephod and their Urim and Thummim,[1] and to the decision of God

[1] This difficult point, though one that properly belongs to archæology pure and simple, may be briefly explained here on account of its connection with Old Testament ideas of soothsaying. For the literature of the question, cf. Ugolin, *Thesaur. ant. sacr.* vol. xii., where the works of H. Buxtorf, Polemann, Spencer, and Riboudeald are to be found, also Saalschütz, *Prüfung der vorzüglichsten Ansichten von den Urim und Tummim* (Ilgen, *Zeitschr. für histor. Theologie*, viii. 2). The head of the priesthood had, according to A, as a means of ascertaining the will of God, which the civil power was bound to respect, his high priest's cape. On the front of it was sewed a gold-embroidered cloth like a pocket, on which were fastened the names of the tribes of Israel, engraved on four rows of precious stones (Ex. xxviii. 15 ff., xxxix. 8 ff.). As "the wearer of the ephod," he was in possession of the priest's oracle (1 Sam. xiv. 3; cf. xxi. 10, xxiii. 6, 9–11, xxx. 7 f.). As regards the more exact form of this oracle, we are told that "the priest shall put into the pocket the Urim and Thummim" (Ex. xxviii. 30). In my opinion the whole narrative shows, and especially the parallel passages Lev. viii. 8 and Ex. xxv. 21, that these Urim and Thummim cannot be the twelve precious stones on the pocket already mentioned, but must be some object which could be put into the pocket upon the breast of the priest's cape. These Urim and Thummim, then, by whose "judgment," *e.g.*, Joshua was to be bound (Num. xxvii. 21), must have formed a sacred object of no great size, and familiar to the people from of old, as there is nowhere any mention of its being made (ה). Spencer supposed the Thummim might correspond to the ornament which had to be worn by the Egyptian high priest as a mark of the highest judicial dignity, and which, consisting of precious stones, was worn round the neck on a gold chain, and called "Truth" (Aelian, *Variae histor.* xiv. 34; Diodor. Sic., ed. Becker, i. p. 101). With this he connects the further theory that the Urim were not different from the Teraphim, the miniature statues of these as oracle-giving gods being in this way withdrawn from the service of superstition and adapted to the ritual of the true religion. The latter view, the only support for which is a dubious interpretation of Hos. iii. 3, is quite arbitrary. The Rabbis generally suppose that the sparkling of one or even all of the twelve precious stones on the pocket was what constituted the sign, Joseph, *Antiq.* iii. 8. 9, ἐπαύσατο ὁ σαρδώνυξ τοῦ λάμπειν, or that the letters engraved on them formed some sort of word. In the same way Sohar thinks of the divine name יהוה being read in a variety of Cabbalistic ways. All these theories, however, are refuted by the fact that the Urim and Thummim were "put into" the pocket. As to the real nature of this "oracle" no conclusion can be drawn from the statements in A. For he had certainly never seen it in use, and merely drew a picture of it for himself according to his wont. In my opinion 1 Sam. xiv. 36–42 (cf. xxiii. 2–11, xxx. 7, 8), if we restore the first passage, as Thenius does, gives us the needed explanation. There were probably two stones, the one called אורים from its transparency, and the other תמים from its opaqueness, or, as is more probable, from their object being to give "light" and "judgment." When Urim fell, the answer was "yes"; when Thummim, "no." When neither of the stones sprang out, or an evil omen prevented the casting of the lot, it was a sign that God was

by the lot.[1] The prophet Gad, with his prophetic counsel, is put into the background when Abiathar comes into David's camp[2] with the priestly oracle. As Eglon listens reverently to the word of "the God of Israel," so the Israelites also went to foreign oracles, for example, to Baal-Zebub, the god of Ekron; and the prophet, by way of rebuke, merely asks, "Is it because there is not a God in Israel?"[3] When God will not give an oracle, either by dreams or by the Urim or by prophets, Saul betakes himself to the witch of Endor.[4] In the worship of Micah and the Danites, the ephod and the oracles obviously play the chief *rôle*.[5] The highest compliment that could be paid to human shrewdness was to say that the answers of Achitophel were always "as if a man had inquired at the oracle of God."[6] But just as people paid attention to dreams,[7] so they also asked the prophets to become soothsayers for hire.[8] And even after the eighth century there are found, scattered here and there among the prophecies, elements of soothsaying that are, it is true, not very clearly distinguished from the poetic dress of prophecy.[9] Naturally Israel never doubted that the word of a true prophet must issue in fulfilment. Such an one

angry. Consequently this contrivance would fall quite within the more general category of "oracle by lot" (cf. Judg. xx. 18; 1 Sam. x. 20; Josh. vii. 16). That it was merely a symbol of priestly illumination cannot be inferred from the poetic allusion to it in Deut. xxxiii. 8; cf. Ps. xliii. 3; nor does it suit the stories about the way in which the Urim and Thummim were used. An answer "yes" or "no" is plainly required by Judg. i. 1, xx. 18 ff.; 1 Sam. xxiii. 11 ff.; 2 Sam. ii. 1. 2 Sam. v. 19, 23 is somewhat less simple.

[1] Josh. vii. 16 ff.; 1 Sam. x. 20 ff.

[2] 1 Sam. xxii. 5; cf. 10, 11, 13, 15, xxiii. 2–12, xxx. 7, 8.

[3] 2 Kings i. 2 f.; Judg. iii. 20.

[4] 1 Sam. xxviii. 6, 15.

[5] Cf. the expressions in 2 Sam. xvi. 23; Num. ix. 8, 9, xv. 35; Ex. xviii. 19 f.; Josh. ix. 14; Judg. xviii. 4 ff., xx. 18; 1 Sam. xii. 14 (המרה); 2 Sam. xxi. 1 f. etc.

[6] 2 Sam. xvi. 23.

[7] Gen. xl. 8, xli.; cf. 1 Kings xiv. 1 ff.; 2 Kings viii. 1 ff.

[8] 1 Sam. ix. 7, x. 2 ff.; cf. iii. 20.

[9] Isa. vii. 8, 14, 16, xvi. 14, xxi. 16, xxxvii. 7, 33, xxxviii. 5, xxxix. 5; Jer. xxii. 12, 19, 30, xxviii. 16, xxix. 22, xxxvi. 30, xxxvii. 7.

does not speak on his own initiative.[1] If his word does not come to pass, he is a lying prophet, or else, in order to punish His people, God has in His anger purposely put a false answer into the mouth of His servant.[2]

The kind of prophecy, with which alone we are here concerned, is not met with in its purity and distinctiveness till after the eighth century. The judgments of the future are held up before the people as the due reward of their present sins. Every foreign power, as it comes to the front, is represented as God's rod of correction; Assyria as well as Babylon, the Scythians as well as the Egyptians.[3] Against the individual enemies of divine truth among the people, against a Shebna, a Pashhur, etc., the vengeance of God is proclaimed.[4] The heathen nations, that stand as obstacles in the paths of sacred history, are menaced with destruction in the storm of God's rapidly approaching judgments.[5] But behind all the suffering there stands Hope's bright picture of redemption and a time of bliss. The prophets always speak as men familiar with the purposes of God. They are in God's confidence. What the Lord is about to do He tells unto them.[6] Although the unbelieving multitude hope that "the prophets shall become wind," and say, "the days are prolonged, and every vision faileth," nevertheless, God will bring to pass that which He has announced by the mouth of His messengers.[7] And the prophecies are invariably spoken with the practical and moral purpose of making the exhortations, warnings, and consolations more vivid and effective.

Prophecy never takes the form of abstract statement. It is

[1] God has uncovered their ear, *i.e.* has had communication with them, 1 Sam. ix. 15; cf. xx. 12; 2 Sam. vii. 27 (Gen. xxvii. 1–33).

[2] Deut. xviii. 22; Jer. xxviii. 9; cf. 1 Kings xxii. 5 ff.

[3] Compare the different standpoints of Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, contrasted with Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and again Joel and Zechariah.

[4] Isa. xxii. 15 ff.; Jer. xx. 3 (Amos vii. 17).

[5] So Isa. xiv. 24–xxiii.; Amos i.; Obadiah, Nahum, etc.

[6] Jer. xxiii. 18, 21 (the gloss, xxxiii. 2).

[7] Amos iii. 12; Jer. v. 13; Ezek. xii. 22 f.

always presented as a view or a picture, drawn with the special features suggested by history and by everyday experience. We never get the bald statement: Nineveh and Babylon will perish. We see them taken by storm, and, amid every kind of horror and outrage, razed to the ground by ruthless foes.[1] It is not said: Assyria will come and devastate the land, but not utterly subdue it. We see the invader devastating Lebanon and striding across the pastures of Bashan; we watch him hurrying along the highway towards the south, through the pass of Michmash, capturing city after city till, before the gates of the holy city, he receives his death-blow from God.[2] In like manner, the day of judgment is depicted with all the terrors of darkness, earthquake, tempest, and flood. The final deliverance borrows its chief traits from the exodus out of Egypt; and the glorious memories of David and Solomon give to the picture of the Messiah its brightest colours.

It is also quite natural that numbers and names should occur in prophecy. But were these to be regarded as actually foretelling definite names still unknown to the existing generation, or particular numbers that belong to the domain of chance, prophecy would sink to the level of soothsaying. In reality, however, the dates are either quite indefinite,—like "shortly," "at hand," "yet a little while," "though it tarry long," and so on,[3]—or they are round numbers, like one, three, seven, forty, seventy, which are mere general expressions for a longer or shorter period of time.[4] Even Jeremiah's famous number is

[1] Nahum ii. 1 ff.; Jer. xlvi. 3 ff., 14 ff., xlvii. 3 ff.

[2] Zech. xi. 1–3; Isa. x. 28 ff.

[3] Isa. vii. 14, viii. 4, xiii. 6, 22, xvii. 14, xxix. 17, xxxii. 10; Jer. li. 33; Ezek. vii. 8; Micah v. 2; Hab. ii. 3; Joel i. 15, ii. 1.

[4] Isa. xvi. 14, xxi. 16 (according to the years of an hireling, *i.e.* short measure, at the utmost so long), xxiii. 15, 17 (seventy years, according to the days of one king, *i.e.* of a dynasty); Jer. xxv. 12, xxix. 10; Ezek. xxix. 12; cf. Welcker, i. 52 f. (Jonah iii. 4); cf. Jer. xxviii. 1 ff. (the false prophet). Also in Isa. xx. 3, the three years would most naturally be taken as the time that would elapse before the sign was accomplished. But, according to the present context, the meaning must be that the sign was repeated during the course of the three years, the time probably during which Ashdod was besieged.

certainly used in this sense. Possibly the prophet himself means to indicate this very thing when he uses the same number in two passages of quite different date, compare chap. xxv. 11 with chap. xxix. 10; for there is nothing to justify Hitzig's idea that the first passage should be considered an interpolation. But, in any case, the perfectly indefinite character of the number remains. The scribes were the first to work up the sacred numbers into a system actually meant to be taken seriously.[1] Wherever there occurs in the earlier prophecies a really exact number apparently accidental, there is certainly good reason for examining carefully into the date or the authenticity of the passage.[2]

In the same way, names of persons still in the future have always a metaphorical signification, and are not meant to be names in the literal sense. Names like Immanuel, Jehovah-Tsidkenu, Pele-Joez, Abi-Ad, Sar-Shalom, El-Gibbor, Lo-Ammi, Lo-Ruhamah,[3] are words which are self-interpreting. Names otherwise meant, like the name Koresh (Cyrus) in Deutero-Isaiah,[4] or details of any kind which belong to the same category,[5] are always proofs that the paragraphs in question belong to times when these names and details were already within the sphere of experience.

Prophecies have an indissoluble connection with history. Nevertheless they are not mere calculations about the future

[1] Ezek. iv. 5 ff. adds together from Ex. xii. 40 and Num. xiv. 34, 390+40=430. Daniel next made the years of Jeremiah into year-weeks, and so on.

[2] Isa. vii. 8, "And within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people," is shown, even by the laws of parallelism, and still more by a comparison with vers. 16, 17, and 22, to be a gloss that probably arose out of the number 70 (which also occurs in Isa. xxiii. 15, 17; Jer. xxv. 11, xxix. 10), or else was ingeniously calculated by a later editor, after the rise of the "no-people," the Samaritans (2 Kings xvii. 24 ff.).

[3] Hos. i. 4, 6; Isa. vii. 14, viii. 4, 10, ix. 5 (Jer. xxiii. 6).

[4] B. J. xliv. 28, xlv. 1.

[5] There are cogent reasons for assigning the whole narrative, 1 Kings xiii. 1 ff., to the period after Josiah (ver. 32, cities of Samaria!). (On the other hand, as the whole position of affairs in the world at large in the days of Jeremiah naturally pointed to Media as the only rival of Babylon, the mention of the Medes in Jer. l. 2 ff. is not one of the proofs of the non-authenticity of the section.)

based on the present. Their eternal ground-thoughts are independent of the vicissitudes of time, resting, as they do, on deep religious certainty. But their form, colouring, and figure depend on the actual present, with its needs, views, and general environment. The prophecy of Amos is intimately connected with the political relations of his age, especially with the attitude of the petty neighbour-peoples; those of Micah and Isaiah with the world-empire of Assyria, and with the enterprises of northern Israel and Syria. It is always so. Prophecy under a Hezekiah has one note, under an Ahaz and a Zedekiah another. It has likewise one note as long as Assyria and Babylon are God's rods of correction, but another when they have been used and their arrogance has to be broken. God gives the eye of the prophet power to see the threads which run from the web of the present out into the future. Let his prophecies be cut loose from this web, let them be explained in an unhistorical fashion without reference to their environment, and they will not only be mutilated, but get so entangled with each other as to become untrue.

The speeches of the prophets, in fact, never present truths, even the most general, in any other way than in living connection with time and history. Hence they can never be really understood apart from their own time and occasion. The prophets read the will of God in the flaming letters of the world's history. The circumstances of their time were to them more than a mere outer garment which, in itself indifferent, covered prophetic announcements that were always of similar import. They were in the most real sense factors that contributed to the making of the prophetic teaching, stages, as it were, by which the prophetic spirit penetrated more deeply and thoroughly into the purposes of God with Israel. Without Israel's decline, without the childish notions of the people regarding the external character of worship, without the actual circumstances in which the world then was,

and the rise of its different States, without historical figures like David and Hezekiah, the rich variety of revealed truth which we possess in the writings of the prophets would never have found expression. It is not enough to have divine seed and the soil to receive it. Both sun and rain, storm and cold, affect the growth of the plant. And all this is, of course, very specially applicable to prophecy. For as soon as the creative power of imagination produces pictures of things which lie beyond the experience of the present, the impressions of that present necessarily provide the imagination with colours and forms for these pictures.

8. If such is the case, genuine prophecy can never demand either complete or unconditional fulfilment. As regards its poetical details, this proposition is self-evident; but it holds true even of the main import of a prophecy, though certainly not in the way Hengstenberg[1] meant, viz. that we might consider the predictions of the prophets as practically fulfilled if their "idea" was realised, although in quite a different way from what they had stated. The prophets wished to predict, not ideas, but facts in the history of the world. It may, for example, be said: Isaiah's prophecies regarding the punishment of Assyria are fulfilled, as to their idea, wherever a haughty self-willed empire, forgetful of God and His eternal purposes, is overthrown. But, on that account, what the prophet meant and what he wished to foretell is not in any way fulfilled, say, by the destruction of Rome or some such event. On the contrary, Isaiah meant the destruction of this historical Assyria in the period immediately following his prediction, and under circumstances which never arose. Hengstenberg's view gives full play to every sort of arbitrary interpretation, and abandons the firm ground of history[2] as

[1] "Abhandlung über die Auslegung der Propheten" (*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, 1833, 23, 24), an essay which, in spite of its errors, contains golden words.

[2] Of course, it is something altogether different when Riehm points out that in prophecies there are often found features which, being borrowed from the

completely as do the dreams of those who expect in the last times a literal fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy, and who pare down the grand spiritual hopes of Christianity, in truly Jewish fashion, to a "glorious kingdom of Israel." The fact is, the relation of prophecy to fulfilment simply depends on the nature of the subject.[1]

Prophecy uttered by a true prophet of God must, of course, be true; it must express the real judgment of God regarding the present and what is to develop out of it. What distinguishes the true prophet from the false is, that God stands to the word of the former as to a word that has gone out from Himself.[2] Still, this is meant in a much narrower sense than is generally supposed. The people are to recognise a false prophet by the fact that his words do not show themselves in harmony with the actual will of God as proved by the result. If a prophet praises his contemporaries and announces their salvation, whilst their sin is provoking God to vengeance, God has not sent him.[3] But this cannot mean that prophecies are to be looked on as irreversible decrees of fate regarding a future that lies beyond the range of experience; otherwise the people could form no judgment at all regarding them. When a threat or a promise is uttered

view of the existing theocracy, cannot possibly have been intended by the prophets to be taken literally; and in these cases more importance is evidently attached to the idea than to the form of presentation, so that the latter apparently just passes directly over into the domain of conscious symbolism, as in Zech. xiv. 16 ff.; B. J. lxvi. 23.

[1] Cf. Bertheau, *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theologie*, 1859, ii. 314 ff., iv. 559 ff.; 1860, iii. 486 ff. ("Die alttestamentlichen Weissagungen von Israels Reichsherrlichkeit"). Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testamentes*, p. 722, etc.

[2] Deut. xviii. 22; Jer. xxviii. 9; cf. Hab. ii. 3 (Zech. i. 6).

[3] This idea is insisted on by the exilic Isaiah with special vigour and emphasis. The prophet shows himself the servant of the living God, by the fact that from the first he recognises God's will in the dark problem of the world's history and development, and that, after the first scene has been witnessed by all (the successes of the Persian king), he also perceives what is new and incomprehensible, that this victorious hero will redeem Israel, and that Israel will once more live to see a time like that of the exodus from Egypt (xli. 17 ff., 27, xlii. 9, xlviii. 5 ff.).

regarding the actual circumstances of a people, it must be fulfilled if these circumstances remain unaltered. If a prophet promised his own generation God's favour and prosperity, and judgments overtake it without circumstances having so completely altered as to reverse the conditions of that promise, then the prophet lied, and did not make known the real intention of God. If he threatened the people with God's wrath and judgment, and they experience only happiness and salvation, without having, by repentance, removed the cause of God's anger, then he spoke of himself, and was not a divine messenger. On the other hand, it by no means follows that the picture in which the final ideal age and its accompaniments presented themselves to a prophet's eye must be realised in all its details. As every such idea has its roots in the present and its environment, then if the circumstances of that present be utterly changed, the idea cannot come to full realisation.

The present out of which the words of the prophets are spoken is not regarded by the Old Testament religion as one that has by a necessity of nature to go on developing. It includes the moral freedom of the creature. Every people to which divine promises or threats are uttered may change, may repent, just in consequence of a threatening word from God, and thus remove what justified the threat; on the other hand, it may with sinful levity forsake the right path to which the words of promise applied. In the one case, God graciously recalls His threat; in the other, He angrily revokes His promise. For if prophecies once uttered obtained fulfilment simply as being irreversible, they would just on that account be no longer true in the higher sense of the word. If sin has given place to penitence and piety to apostasy, threats and promises are no longer the true expression of the divine will. And this is just how the unchangeableness of God's will is manifested.[1] Because the prophecy of this God has a moral character, it

[1] Ezek. xviii. 25, 29, xxxiii. 20.

can claim only a conditional fulfilment. Hence Amos himself is convinced that he can, by his own intercession, avert for a time the very strokes of misfortune which he beholds in vision.[1]

Naturally the conditional and variable character of prophetic prediction has very definite limits. The purposes of Almighty God cannot be baffled by the fickleness of man. Successive generations may forfeit their own salvation, but salvation comes none the less,—not salvation in the form in which any one prophet beheld it in accordance with the conditions of his age and personality, but still the same salvation, the same fulfilling of the divine thoughts which constituted the very essence of that prophecy. The how and the when of prophecy are conditional. Both are woven together out of human freedom, the turnings of which lie hid from the prophet's eye. But the salvation itself is sure, since it depends, not on man, but on God.

There is still another way in which prophecy may cease to be conditional. A people may sink to such a depth of depravity as excludes the possibility of true repentance and real conversion; may reach a stage of sin where, according to the laws of the moral world, the means of grace only harden the sinner and sink him deeper; where the object with which a prophet speaks is no longer to call to repentance, but to bring iniquity to a head.[2] There are times when the thunderclouds of divine judgment are so piled together that the fatal bolt cannot be turned aside. At such times, when repentance and conversion are no longer possible, prophecies are naturally no longer conditional.

With these qualifications, however, one must firmly main-

[1] Amos vii. 1 ff., נחם יהוה על־זאת.

[2] Amos vii. 8; Isa. vi. 9 ff.; Jer. xv. 1 ff., 6. Moses Maimonides occupied himself with this question (*Vorrede zur Mischna*, by Surenhuis, vol. i. pref. p. 4). His view is that evil does not need to happen because God can repent; but that a blessing unconditionally foretold must occur, otherwise the prophet lied.

tain that prophecy requires only a conditional fulfilment. A glance at history should convince every unprejudiced person of this. Tyre did not, as Isaiah prophesied, succumb to the Assyrians, that it might after seventy years regain its ancient glory, and dedicate to Zion the profits of its commerce.[1] Babylon did not fall into utter ruin before the assault of Cyrus, as the prophets of the Exile promise.[2] Even yet Damascus has not been blotted from the muster-roll of cities. The Egyptians were not carried captive either to Assyria or to Babylonia. Egypt and Assyria [3] have not united with Judah to form a threefold kingdom of God.[4] When the exiles returned, Jerusalem was not rebuilt in the way the prophets expected.[5] Judah gained no such victory over the Phœnicians as Joel describes;[6] and, in like manner, almost every prophecy shows, on close inspection, views of the future which have not been realised. Nor can anything be more contrary to the true meaning of the prophetical books than to maintain that whatever is not yet fulfilled will still be fulfilled in some distant future. As if those prophecies did not form an absolutely perfect organism, from which one cannot break off a single member without mutilating the whole! Or as if the hopes of those men of God were not so thoroughly bound up with times already past, never to return, that they cannot by any possibility be fulfilled in the days to come. What the Isaiah of the Exile prophesied can never to all eternity be fulfilled in the way he expected. For all the circumstances in which he thinks of the new nation as developing have passed for ever away. And it is the same with all the prophetic descriptions of the millennium. Without a Philistia and an Edom to conquer and hold down by force of arms; without an Assyria, whose yoke can be thrown off in triumph;

[1] Isa. xxiii. 1 ff., 15 ff. (Ezek. xxvi. 1–xxviii. 9).
[2] B. J. xiii., xiv., xxi., xl.–lxvi.
[3] Isa. xvii. 1, xix.; Jer. xlvi.; Ezek. xxix.
[4] Isa. xix. 23 ff.
[5] B. J. xxxv., xlii., xliv., xlviii., liv., lx., lxii.
[6] Joel iv. 4 ff. etc.

without a Tyre, whose splendid merchandise might embellish the temple at Jerusalem; without the nations that are to muster in the valley of Jehoshaphat for the final war against Jerusalem,—the Jerusalem, too, of the Jews, ruled over by a descendant of David,—and a thousand similar details, there can be no fulfilment of the prophetic predictions. When all these features are left out or explained away, people should at least have the honesty not to talk any more of the strict fulfilment of the prophets' utterances.

Certainly there is some truth in the idea of "perspective" in prophecy. Naturally every prophet sees the great goal of God's ways in immediate connection with those acts of divine providence which influence his own time. In every storm-cloud he sees the awful menace of the last judgment, and behind every night of sorrow the dawn of the perfect day. But that is no justification for tearing the prophecies into shreds, page by page. It is untrue to say: "Although Tyre was conquered by Alexander instead of by Assyria, that is a fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy;" or, "Although Babylon fell slowly into decay, like most of the great cities of the ancient East, still the prophecy of the exilic prophets is thereby fulfilled." It is untrue to say: "Although Jesus did not appear in all the glory of a victorious king like David, as the prophets depict the Messiah, yet Israel will still in the coming future appear in all the glory of a nation, with Jesus as its king;" for Jesus has already given another and a higher fulfilment to these Messianic prophecies, a fulfilment in which Israel as a ruling nation has no place. Thus the prophecy, though revoked as regards its temporal form, has been most really and truly fulfilled.

But this conviction, that prophecies might possibly not be fulfilled, was one clearly and consciously entertained even by the prophets themselves regarding their own prophecies. In fact, while threatening punishment, they always hold out the offer of mercy in the event of repentance. They threaten only for the purpose of producing an impression, that is, for the purpose

of rendering unnecessary the punishment which they prophesy. From Amos onwards to the Isaiah of the Exile the refrain always is, "Repent, that God may have mercy upon you; return unto God, that He may return unto you."[1] As long as conversion is not impossible, that is, as long as intercession is not absolutely unavailing,[2] the prophets continue to point out the way of salvation. Even for Zedekiah himself up to the very last an opening was left, by which, through obedience to the word of God, he might have escaped from the prophecies of evil, definitely expressed though they were.[3] And when many of the prophets repeat, with additions of their own,[4] famous declarations of God by earlier prophets, they do not mean to point to these as utterances of doom still unfulfilled, but to strengthen their own denunciations by the authority of accredited men of God.

Indeed, in particular cases it is directly taught that a fulfilment of the prophecy in the strict sense need not necessarily follow. I do not here attach any particular value to a comparison of Ezek. xxvi. 1–xxviii. 9 with xxix. 17 ff., although such a comparison certainly appears to me to prove the open and conscious alteration of a prophecy previously given; for in this instance a different interpretation is at any rate possible. But in Jer. xxvi. 17 ff. it is distinctly stated that Micah's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem was averted by Hezekiah's repentance; and it is in this connection that the exhortation is expressly given, to avert even yet by repentance the catastrophe which Jeremiah has threatened rather than punish that prophet for announcing disaster. In fact, if the conditions alter, it is considered to be God's prerogative to alter at will the word spoken by His prophets. And Ezekiel impresses on his contemporaries

[1] Amos v. 15, vii. 1-7; Isa. i. 18; Jer. vii. 3, xviii. 7 ff., 11, 13, 19, xxvi. 3, 13; Ezek. xviii. 21 ff., xxxiii. 14 ff.; B. J. xlviii. 18; Joel ii. 13.

[2] Jer. vii. 16, xi. 14 (xv. 1).

[3] Jer. xxxiv. 4 f., xxxvi. 3, 7, xxxviii. 17.

[4] *E.g.* Isa. xv., xvi. etc.

with the utmost earnestness that a prophecy necessarily alters with every alteration of the moral circumstances to which it refers.[1] Finally, among the objects served by the little didactic poem which stands among our prophetical books as the book of Jonah, one of the most prominent is to show that even the most definite prophecy may be revoked, and continue unfulfilled, if the circumstances on account of which it was uttered are altered by repentance, and that God, who willeth that all should live, is invariably ready to pardon as soon as penitence is shown.[2] And in support of such teaching the prophetic historians furnish numerous proofs.[3]

9. The prophets, as ambassadors of God, have also a share in the divine power which directs the world and works miracles. What they demand, God grants. Whenever in the exercise of their calling anything extraordinary or miraculous is necessary, God never fails them. This conviction, being a matter of course in Israel, has crowned the earliest prophets with a garland of miracles. According to all the narratives, Moses is a notable worker of signs and wonders.[4] His sin was that on one occasion he lost heart and became doubtful as to the miracle-working power of the God by whom he was sustained.[5] In this respect as in every other, Elijah and Elisha, the leading spirits of the true religion during the stormiest epoch in the northern kingdom, are heroic figures. They perform miracles in a way that savours very much of magic; and the stories, too, are told in a highly plastic and sensuous fashion. For instance, Elijah's official dress as a prophet is evidently represented as working miracles, just like the hair of Samson the Nazirite.[6] People expect the prophets to heal diseases by prayer and laying on of

[1] Jer. xviii. 7–10; Ezek. xxxiii. 13 ff. [2] Jonah iii. 4, 10, iv. 10 f.
[3] 2 Sam. xii. 13; 1 Kings xxi. 28 ff.; Isa. xxxviii. 1 ff.
[4] Ex. v.–xv. [5] Num. xx. 10 ff. (A).
[6] 1 Kings xvii. 1; 2 Kings i. 10 ff., ii. 4, 11–14, 20, 24, iv. 6, 29, 31, 34 ff., v. 10 ff., vi. 6, 8, 18.

hands, and they pay them high fees.[1] Other prophets also occasionally perform miracles.[2]

After the eighth century the prophets scarcely ever attach importance to this part of their equipment. Still, not only are incidents related regarding them which the narrator considered miraculous in the true sense of the word;[3] but at least one passage puts it beyond a doubt that the prophets themselves were thoroughly convinced of their own power to work miracles in virtue of their calling as servants of the God who guides the world.[4] For when Isaiah makes Ahaz the unconditional offer of choosing a sign "be it deep as Sheol or high as heaven," he must have been absolutely convinced that any natural event which Ahaz might ask would actually occur, even if we assume that the custom and idiom of that age allowed the prophet's offer to be understood in a narrower sense than it would appear to us to have.

According to prophetic law, however, miracles are as little decisive of the worth of a prophet as soothsaying is.[5] Both alike belong to a realm which is morally indifferent,—to the realm of human power increased to a degree altogether extraordinary. They may be performed by a false prophet as well as by a true.[6] The only sure proof of being a true preacher of God's will is the right spirit, agreement with the revealed will of Israel's God.[7] Even when miracles occur, they are never an end in themselves, but always merely the means by which a prophet exercises his calling and fulfils the special duties incumbent on him at the time. They are proofs either of God's power to punish his enemies or of His love for the pious, but at the same time they are pledges of the prophet's divine commission. They are, in a word, "signs" (אוֹתוֹת). Of course, just as the miracle is not always a sign, so the sign is

[1] 2 Kings v. 1 f., 15 f., 20 ff.
[2] *E.g.* 1 Sam. xii. 14 ff.; 1 Kings xiii. 6.
[3] 2 Kings xx. 9 f.; cf. Isa. xxxviii. 7 f.
[4] Isa. vii. 11.
[5] Deut. xiii. 1 ff.
[6] Deut. xiii. 2–6; cf. B.J. xliv. 25.
[7] Deut. xiii. 3.

not always a miracle. The signs which Samuel gives Saul are merely particular suppositions, the actual occurrence of which are to be an inward pledge to him of the more important things of which he has heard.[1] Before his daring assault, Jonathan chooses his own token or omen of success.[2] The sign, as a visible pledge of the invisible promise, may even be nothing more than a suggestive act[3] or a significant name.[4] Indeed, the very word "miracle" (מוֹפֵת) is applied quite freely to things of this kind, simply because they have a special import.[5] But Old Testament history naturally looks on the actual miracle as a specially valuable equipment of the prophet who has to perform a great historical work.[6]

10. The whole activity of the true prophets is due to their vital connection with the history of their religion, especially with its great foundation, the making of Israel into a nation by Moses. Hence fidelity to the God of Israel and to His will is the one sure test of every prophet in Israel.[7] Nevertheless, during the whole period down to the Exile we do not find any proof that the prophets were consciously dependent on a written law as their highest authority. Until Deuteronomy was written, no such law was in existence. And even subsequently the prophets who felt themselves to be such, always held that the "Thorah" within their own breast was quite as trustworthy as the law. It was to the religion of Jehovah which filled their own souls, that they considered their loyalty was due.

It is certain that a systematic study of the law did not begin till the age immediately preceding Ezra. It was from the cattle and the sycamore trees that God called prophets like Amos to preach. The true prophet is, like Jesus, one who

[1] 1 Sam. x. 7, 9.
[2] 1 Sam. xiv. 8 ff.
[3] *E.g.* Isa. xx. 3; Jer. li. 63; Ezek. xii. 6, 11, xxiv. 24, 27.
[4] *E.g.* Isa. vii. 14 ff., viii. 18, xxxvii. 30; Zech. iii. 8; Deut. xxviii. 46 (where the curses against Israel are called signs and wonders).
[5] If Jer. xliv. 29 be not a gloss, we have there one prophecy given as the proof of another.
[6] Ex. vii. 8 ff. (A.)
[7] Deut. xiii. 6.

"has not learned letters." And how free the prophets, in the strength of this spirit, considered themselves to be in regard to what was formerly held true, we see with special clearness from the way in which they dare to contradict the very axioms of Israel's religion. Thus they oppose to the customary sacrifices and feasts, the true sacrifice of the heart;[1] and to the law of nature by which sin is punished to the third and fourth generation, the higher moral law, in accordance with which every one may by his own moral development free himself from his hereditary curse.[2]

It is only during the Exile that prophecy begins to fade away into the learning of the scribes. Ezekiel one may already call a prophet learned in the law.[3] One of the exilic prophets already points to the book of God and to the fulfilment of its declarations;[4] and Zechariah is constantly basing his statements upon his acquaintance with the older Scriptures. Nevertheless, even these men claim a freedom which does not bow before the letter, and retain the feeling that they themselves are still speaking God's words. And, side by side with them, what freedom and living independence of spirit, *e.g.*, in B. J. xl.–lxvi.! It is only in Ezra's day that the place of the prophet is finally taken by the scribe.

CHAPTER XV.

THE BABYLONIAN PERIOD. JUDAH'S TRIAL AND EXECUTION.

1. According to the divine decree as revealed by the condition of the world, judgment could no longer be averted from Judah. The storm-clouds were gathering from all quarters, and becoming always more and more threatening.

[1] Isa. i. 14 ff.; Hos. v. 6; Ps. xl. 7, l. 8 ff. etc. [2] *E.g.* Ezek. xviii. 2 ff.
[3] Cf. iv. 5 f., xxviii. 13, 16, xxxi. 8, 9, 18, xxxvi. 35.
[4] B. J. xxxiv. 16.

On the one side was Egypt, a flourishing empire, pressing ever onwards in its victorious career; on the other, the Chaldean empire, ready to dispute with Egypt the inheritance of Assyria; and right between these mighty adversaries a tiny almost defenceless land, the natural theatre of war. And all around were ill-disposed and envious neighbours, Edom with its newly-won freedom and its hereditary hatred, Philistia in all its renewed prosperity, and the robber tribes of the neighbouring desert. Israel was also threatened with destruction by the great Scythian outbreak. And at the same time in Judah itself, though its resources were few and its danger great, there was much worldliness and degeneracy, a want of loyalty to God, especially in regard to the worship of the Queen of heaven,[1] which had become almost legal; and even among the very prophets and priests a degeneracy which warranted the gravest fears.[2]

At this time the people witnessed a new phenomenon quite strange to former times, at least in such clearness and grandeur. Out of the actual Israel, that is, the people as a whole which had no longer any real vital force in it, there grew up, from within, a true Israel, a national nucleus, most of which naturally gathered round the true prophets. This nucleus devoted itself to the calling, the law, and the religion of the nation, with an ardour, strength, and purity hitherto unparalleled. With holy dread of the wrath of their offended Covenant-King, and yet with an ardent love for Him and His people, they stand before Him ready, as it were, to step into the breach for the lost and ruined nation.

This true Israel first tries whether it has not still sufficient vitality to revivify the dead nation, to breathe into it once more the warm breath of love and faith. With

[1] Jer. xliv. 15 proves that this worship was regarded by the people as an acknowledged custom, and even as a right; cf. Jer. iii. 10 ff., xii. 9, xiii. 9, xvii. 2 ff., xviii. 13 ff.; Ezek. viii., ix., xvi., xxii., xxiii.

[2] Jer. v. 13, xxiii.; cf. Ezek. vii. 26 ff., xiii. 4 ff. etc.

heroic fidelity, Josiah, and the circle of men who support him, attempt to regenerate the nation, although the outward means for accomplishing this have long been gone. The prophetic law, Deuteronomy, is made State-law. The people pledge themselves in a solemn covenant to be faithful to God and to His law.[1] The priests of the high places, even the Levitical, are deprived of their office, and reduced to private life with a fixed income.[2] All that song and prophetic oratory can effect is tried in order to breathe a new spirit into the decrepit body of the nation, and make it young again. For the first time in Israel, the use of a single sanctuary is legally decreed and enforced. This was certainly in the existing circumstances an indispensable condition for the healthy development of this religion. In point of fact, it became the means of uprooting more and more the ancient worship of God by sacrifice, and of making it a mere symbol of spiritual worship. For living worship demands constant personal service, and is therefore in its ancient form incompatible with the use of only one sanctuary. At first, it is true, there arises the new danger of pride in possessing the proper ritual and of offensive confidence in the letter, a danger against which Jeremiah is the first of the prophets to contend;[3] while, on the other hand, he is equally emphatic as to God's covenant relationship with His people, and the heavy responsibility which any breach of that covenant entails.[4] From this time onwards these two tendencies begin to show themselves more and more strongly; but, of course, their germs had long existed in this religion. The one party cultivated a free and profoundly religious spirit, which was now brought to full maturity by a large number of highly prophetic souls, their watchword being "the word of God by the mouth of His prophets." The other party devoted themselves to the priestly side of religion, paying special attention to

[1] 2 Kings xxiii.
[2] Deut. xii. 2 ff.
[3] Jer. vii. 4, 22; cf. viii. 4–9, xviii. 8.
[4] Jer. xi.

Israel's outward holiness, and to establishing a complete ritual, their watchword being "the Thorah as the written legal rule of life for the holy people." In Jeremiah[1] and the Deuteronomist these two tendencies are still in close and inward connection. Ezekiel and A proclaim the triumph of the latter.

In these times, beyond all doubt, it had come to be fully acknowledged that the God of Israel is the one only God; that everything else that men call God, or that claims to possess superhuman power, belongs to the category either of non-existent lying figures, or of subordinate beings that simply execute His will, or of feeble antagonists to whom for a time He gives free scope. The naïve language of the olden time, which had grown up in the midst of polytheism, did not, it is true, altogether cease.[2] Neither Jeremiah nor the Deuteronomist hesitates to speak of the heathen gods as the fathers of their respective peoples,[3] or of the army of heaven as lords set up by God over the nations of the world.[4] And still later,[5] the army of heaven is represented as being condemned by God, that is, as being in opposition to Him. But all this does not preclude the existence in these times and writings of a distinct theoretical monotheism.

The gods of foreign nations are spoken of as dumb, spiritless idols,[6] weak and helpless, non-existent.[7] They are identified in bitter satire with their images, unjustly, of course, so far as the history of religion is concerned, but in consequence of the belief that apart from these man-made images they did not really exist. They are specially derided by the exilic prophets as ludicrous lying products of human self-deception.[8] They

[1] Jer. vi. 19, vii. 9, viii. 8, xviii. 18, xxvi. 1 ff.

[2] This still occurs even in Ruth.

[3] Jer. ii. 27, xvi. 13.

[4] Deut. iv. 19, 20, 28, xxviii. 36, 64; cf. xxxii. 8, 9, 12.

[5] B. J. xxiv. 21 (2 Chron. xxviii. 23).

[6] Hab. ii. 18 f.

[7] Jer. ii. 27, x. 3–14; Deut. iv. 28; 1 Kings xviii. 27 ff., xix. 18; B. J. xlvi. 1, lvii. 13 f.

[8] B. J. xl. 18 ff., xli. 7, 24, 29, xlii. 17, xliv. 9–20, xlv. 16, 20 f., xlvi. 6; cf. Judg. vi. 26; 1 Kings xviii. 27; Jer. x. 1; Ps. cxv. 4, 8, cxxxv. 15 f. (B. J. xli. 22, "Do something good or bad that we may see that ye are gods").

are called nonentities,[1] shams,[2] wind,[3] nothings,[4] spiritless,[5] no-gods,[6] abominations,[7] horror,[8] shame,[9] blocks,[10] etc.

God is the absolutely One. Even evil is not an act of hostile powers. He creates good and evil.[11] He is the God of the gods; and they are His servants.[12]

And the prophetic law does not merely declare again and again that He is God, and there is none else,[13] but it expressly lays down as the foundation principle of the whole religion the formula, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God,"[14] the watchword with which in later times Israel marched to martyrdom and death; and which Jesus also emphasises as the first principle of true piety, hereby including within the limits of monotheism His own person and work. This age is unanimous in hoping that at the close of history God will establish His own absolute unity, and that one name, "Jehovah," will be common to all nations. He has sworn that to Him every knee shall bow,[15] just as He is already guiding heathen princes like Cyrus and Nebuchadnezzar without their knowing it.[16]

[1] תהו, B. J. xlvi. 3; 1 Sam. xii. 21, etc.

[2] שׁוא, Jer. xviii. 15; Jonah ii. 9.

[3] הבל, Jer. ii. 5, viii. 19, xiv. 22, xvi. 19; Deut. xxxii. 21; 2 Kings xvii. 15; שׁקר, Jer. x. 14.

[4] אֱלִילִים (from אַל, but intentionally formed so as to sound as if from אֶל), Ezek. xxx. 13; Ps. xcvii. 7; Lev. xxvi. 1, xix. 4.

[5] Hab. ii. 19; Jer. x. 14.

[6] לא אל, לא אלהים, already in Deut. xxxii. 17, 21, 39; Jer. ii. 11, v. 7.

[7] תועבה, Jer. xvi. 18; Ezek. vii. 20, xi. 18, 21, xiv. 6; 2 Kings xxiii. 13; B. J. xliv. 19.

[8] שׁקוּץ, Jer. iv. 1, vii. 30, xvi. 18, xxxii. 34; Ezek. vii. 20, xi. 18, 21, xx. 8, xxxvii. 23; 1 Kings xi. 5–7; 2 Kings xxiii. 13, 24; Deut. xxix. 16.

[9] בּשׁת, Jer. iii. 24, xi. 13 (for בעל).

[10] גלולים, Lev. xxvi. 30; Deut. xxix. 16; 1 Kings xv. 12, xxi. 26; 2 Kings xvii. 12, xxiii. 24; very frequent in Ezekiel.

[11] B. J. xlv. 7; cf. Amos iii. 6.

[12] Deut. x. 7.

[13] Deut. iv. 35, 39, xxxii. 39.

[14] Deut. vi. 4 (therefore people are to swear by Him alone, ver. 13).

[15] Zeph. iii. 9; Zech. xiv. 9; Hagg. ii. 8; B. J. xlv. 14, 23, xlix. 26; Ps. lxxxiii. 19.

[16] Jer. xxv. 9, xxvii. 6, xliii. 10; Ezek. xxix. 20; B. J. xlv. 1.

2. At this time an event occurs that is at first sight mysterious and unintelligible. The attempt of the true Israel to leaven the inert mass of all Israel proves a failure. This Israel is trodden under foot. Josiah himself falls[1] in battle fighting against the Egyptians, mourned by the noblest in Israel. After the death of this reforming king, impure forms of worship and the inclination to worship the gods of the heathen revive with redoubled strength. Jehoiachin, a man not without energy and popularity,[2] is carried away, with the best of the nation, into captivity in Chaldea. We have here a specially striking example of what constitutes the truly tragic element in all history. The judgment, which a long course of sin has rendered inevitable, bursts at last upon a generation which has itself an inclination towards what is good.

These events produce something quite new to the religion of Israel. There exists an Israel that does not, in itself, deserve death, but is perfectly capable of living a new and nobler life. If this Israel die, it dies not because of its own, but others' guilt. And a nation for which such men die, a nation which still contains within itself such strength of devotion, cannot, just because of these saints and their devotedness, remain for ever lost. These men of the true Israel are a pledge that the people will rise again out of the death which it cannot longer avoid. A people which has within it such a kernel cannot utterly perish. The true supramundane strength of the kingdom of God begins to show itself.

And when it is on this Israel that the divine judgments fall, a deeper glimpse is given into the ways of God in general. In this case the reward of self-improvement and purification, of true love to God, is special suffering and woe. Hence, faith has to distinguish between prosperity

[1] He had evidently tried to obtain supremacy over northern Israel also, although in alliance with Assyria; and this—perhaps, too, his confidence in promises like Deut. xx.—may have drawn him into the unequal struggle.

[2] Jer. xxii. 24.

that is outward and earthly, and glory that is inward and real. Suffering ceases to approach the individual as a messenger of divine anger. It is seen to be in harmony with the consciousness of God's love, and even with the special revelation of it. There is a suffering for others, for mankind, —a suffering of voluntary self-sacrifice in behalf of the chosen people, in order that a seed may remain in it for the better time about to be. From the thought of the involuntary, meaningless sacrifice of animals the mind is lifted up to the thought of a voluntary self-sacrifice due to love. Thus greater emphasis is also laid on individual personality and its relation to God, which is, as Duhm justly remarks, a characteristic feature of Jeremiah's prophecies.

Finally, the more unsolved contradictions and riddles there are in man's earthly lot,—the less possible it becomes to harmonise his relation to God with that lot,—the more must the religious spirit feel constrained to seek, somewhere beyond this earthly existence, an eternal transcendental happiness inseparably connected with life in God. It is true that, in accordance with the whole essence of this religion, individuals gain such experience but slowly and gradually, and rather from the pious welling-up of feeling than from knowledge clearly seen and firmly grasped. But the people get it all the more fully through looking for their national resurrection, and for everlasting blessedness and glory in the kingdom of God. No wonder that under these circumstances the brilliant figure of the victorious Davidic king as seen by Isaiah and his contemporaries grows paler and paler. But, in its place, a reinvigorated and glorified commonwealth of saints becomes more and more the central object of faith.

During this period the capital of this tiny land, the seat of the sanctuary, the one spot which so often remained unharmed while the enemy was master of all the country round,[1]

[1] Isa. i. 8, xxxvi. 1 ff.; 2 Kings xviii. 13.

acquired an importance in the eyes of the godly that it never could have acquired in the larger kingdom of David and Solomon. It is the city of God, the holy city,[1] the centre of the world.[2] Its citizen roll is the book of life.[3] Its name is significantly shortened to Salem, the city of peace.[4] It is more and more the subject of eulogy in song.[5] Indeed, so fully does it become the regular expression for the true people of God, that, even while it lay in ashes, the prophet of the Exile regards the "preachers of Zion" as the true nucleus of the nation,[6] and still speaks reverently of the forsaken city as the great mother of the nation who is once more to be surrounded with troops of merry children.[7] The godly are "those who love Jerusalem;" the wicked, those "who forget Jerusalem."[8] Thus Zion becomes the standing expression for the commonwealth of God.

3. Judah is speedily, even suddenly, overtaken by utter destruction. Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, set up by the Chaldeans as their vassal, was, it appears, a man of naturally good disposition.[9] But, being weak and easily led, he fell into the hands of the fanatical national party, which was supported by the false prophets of good.[10] The religious revival of Josiah's time was quickly followed by a greater intermingling of religions than ever, and by all kinds of disorder.[11] And the king was blind enough not to perceive that in the actual circumstances of the world, and in view of the woeful want of vigour in his own nation, the only course in real

[1] Ps. xlvi. 5, xlviii. 2, 9; B. J. xlviii. 2.
[2] Ezek. xxxviii. 12.
[3] Ps. lxxxvii. 6.
[4] Ps. lxxvi. 3.
[5] Ps. xlvi., xlvii., xlviii., lxxxvii. (cxxii., cxxxii., cxxxvii., ci. 8).
[6] B. J. xl. 9.
[7] B. J. lii. 1 ff.
[8] B. J. lxv. 11, lxvi. 10; cf. Ps. cxxxvii. 5 ff.
[9] Cf. *e.g.* Jer. xxxviii.
[10] Jer. xiv. 13 ff., xxiii. 13, xxvii.
[11] Jer. ii. 26, vii. 31, ix. 12, xiii. 10, 27, xvi. 11, 12, xvii. 2, xviii. 15, xxii. 9; Ezek. viii., xvi., xx., xxii., xxiii.

harmony with the divine purposes was to submit to the ruling world-power. In vain Jeremiah proclaimed again and again that nothing but a policy of wise and trustful waiting could be, for the present, the will of God.[1] Prophets like Hananiah probably thought they were acting quite in the spirit of Isaiah when predicting for the holy city a sure deliverance. The king broke his oath,[2] attempted a war of liberation, and in the terrible punishment which ensued all that remained of the once glorious nation of Israel[3] was utterly shattered. A little later what the Chaldeans had left—a handful of tributary peasants under a governor—was also destroyed in consequence of a mad attempt at rebellion in which this governor, Gedaliah, met his death.[4] As for the members of the holy people whom the miseries of the time had not already cut off, some perished in the flight to Egypt,—even the fate of Jeremiah is lost sight of in this universal destruction,—and others were taken captive to Babylon, and settled there.

In this sorrowful time we see revealed the full glory of that true Israel which was brought into being by the purifying effects of this final judgment; and nowhere are its characteristics more splendidly embodied than in Jeremiah, the greatest man of God of this period.[5] He already feels the misery and dire distress of the people, while the multitude is still going about light-hearted and hopeful. When false prophets promise freedom and fresh renown, he who would so willingly agree if he only could, has to lift the veil from the awful fate which was really awaiting his people. In all their sufferings he discerns the holy anger of God against a rebellious people, and this anger he has time after time to

[1] Jer. xxvii. 1 ff., xxviii. 14 ff., xxix. 4 ff. Uriah, who, like Jeremiah, had preached against the foolhardy undertaking, was brought back from Egypt, where he had sought shelter, and put to death; while Jeremiah was rescued, though with the utmost difficulty (Jer. xxvi. 20 ff.).

[2] Ezek. xvii. 14 ff.

[3] 2 Kings xxv. 1 ff.

[4] 2 Kings xxv. 25; cf. Jer. xli.–xliii.

[5] The greatness and the tragic character of this man are admirably sketched by Duhm, p. 228 ff.

proclaim afresh to a people that will not listen. And yet he is willing, in infinite devotion to his people and to the divine thoughts that are embodied in Israel, to face along with them the death he himself has not merited, rather than give them up, and by breaking off from them, secure his personal safety.[1] Taunted with being a herald of disaster, a traitor to the national honour and liberty,[2] having to endure trials in double measure,—in addition to the siege, imprisonment, scorn, mockery, and danger of every kind,—he stands there as a man who suffers, not for himself, but for Israel, and who in his own pure life bears the sins of his impure people. Hence the book of Jeremiah shows us with startling vividness and beauty the figure of the "men of sorrow." Unquestionably many of the noblest elegies in the Psalter were sung by the pious Israel of that age.[3]

4. Israel was thus dead even to its last remnants, cast out into the heathen world as a putrefying corpse. Every chance of present salvation was utterly gone. The sanctuary where God had promised to be present had disappeared in flames. The thank-offering and the sacrifice of atonement, which were the pledges of Israel's salvation, had been rendered impossible. The holy city which God "had founded for ever and ever" lay in ruins; and the house of David, which had received the promise that "the ends of the earth should be given unto it," had perished in misery and shame. Even the priesthood, which in its sacred office represented this people's union with God, was desecrated. The ancient and venerable

[1] Jer. xxxii., xl. 4 ff.; cf. xliii. 6. [2] Jer. xxviii., xxxvi.–xxxviii.

[3] I cannot, indeed, consider it a justifiable critical procedure to ascribe songs which bear the stamp and character of this age, simply on that account, to a single well-known man belonging to it, such as Jeremiah, least of all on the ground of a prosaic explanation of single figures, as, *e.g.*, the figure of a pit without water, for that is just a poetical antithesis to a rock, a wide plain, and other equally common figures. But such songs as Ps. xxii., etc., certainly give us the best idea of the tone and temper of this age. In like manner, Job, if not a product of these times, is at any rate a type of the men of sorrow of such days.

forms in which the kingdom of God had been manifested were remorselessly shattered.

If any element of redemption still survived this disaster, it must dwell spiritually and personally within this people, or else as an ideal of hope it must in the midst of death point to a new life. Thus it was by punishment that the hand of God completed the religious development towards which this whole period had been striving. Faith kept turning more and more from the earthly present to an ideal future, the conception of which became always more and more spiritual. Men learned to think of a salvation independent of outward circumstances and possessions. They realised that Israel was not dead for all time; that though the forms of redemption had been destroyed, the great redemptive thoughts of God, embodied of old in the nation founded by Moses, had not perished.

Thus, of a truth, through the dying of the seed-corn, a host of influences were set free which still continue at work in Christianity. The judgments which the prophets of God had threatened had now been executed. Hence it became possible for the people to retain in the midst of misfortune their faith in Jehovah as Judge and Lord, even when their self-delusions as to Jehovah having pledged Himself to keep His people safe were rudely shattered. God had shown Himself faithful and true in the terrible earnestness of His chastisements. Must He not show Himself faithful also to the eternal thoughts of mercy which formed a background of promise to His threats?

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SUFFERING SERVANT OF JEHOVAH.

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1. In this period, as the previous chapter has shown, there appeared in the spiritual history of Israel the highest religious figure which the nation has produced, the most peculiar and complete expression of the forces which existed within this religion. The name "servant of Jehovah,"[1] in the most general sense, simply denotes one who is God's subject, one who serves and honours Him as Lord and Master. Hence God gives this name to Job.[2] It is applied to individual

[1] עבד יהוה.

[2] Job i. 8, ii. 3, xlii. 7.

Israelites, and even to converted heathens.[1] Now, in this sense, Israel alone of all the nations of the world is the servant of Jehovah. For Israel alone worships this God, and acknowledges Him as Lord.[2] And, again, those who are specially distinguished in Israel by the name "servants of Jehovah" are men whose service and devotion took an exceptionally beautiful and exclusive form. They are chiefly prophets.

But in this, the most general signification of the name, there already lies directly included a second. A servant is always at work in the service of his Master. Hence the name "servant of Jehovah" denotes a definite divine call. It becomes, so to speak, an official name. It is even applied outside Israel to men through whom God brings to pass the great events in the world's history. Nebuchadnezzar is called God's servant as he is also called His hired soldier.[3] But even in this sense Israel as a people is pre-eminently God's servant. His is the task of showing how the salvation of the world may be rendered possible. Israel is God's witness against idol-worshippers, God's holy instrument for realising the unsearchable thoughts of salvation.

Accordingly, when God employs certain instruments within Israel itself to bring back outward Israel, the Israel according to the flesh which is continually at war with its heavenly calling, these men are called "servants of God" because they are commissioned to purify Israel, to restore it to its true position as the people of God, and thereby, at the same time, render possible God's purposes of mercy towards the heathen world. Thus in Deutero-Isaiah the servant of Jehovah distinguishes between himself and Israel, and speaks of punishing the sins of the people, and showing them the significance of their high vocation. Hence by this title the

[1] B. J. liv. 17, lvi. 6.

[2] B. J. xli. 8 f., xlii. 18 ff., xliii. 3 ff., xliv. 1, 3, 21, xlv. 4, xlviii. 20; Jer. xxx. 10, xlvi. 27 f.

[3] Jer. xxv. 9, xxvii. 6, xliii. 10; cf. Ezek. xxix. 20.

prophet primarily means himself. But in such passages he never speaks as a mere individual, but as fulfilling a vocation which he shares with many. He speaks, that is, in name of the prophetic order, or rather, to put it more accurately, in name of the prophetic faithful Israel, which is the real instrument with which God works on Israel, and through Israel on the world. According to the idiom of the Old Testament, these ideas lie in the very name.

2. In Deutero-Isaiah, xl.–lxvi., the people of Israel as such is in many passages clearly and unambiguously spoken of as the servant of Jehovah. But, in my opinion, already xlii. 1 ff. cannot refer any more to this people as a whole. It is not, however, because the servant of Jehovah is called בְּרִית־עָם. These words certainly cannot mean "covenant people." But the expression "the people" might indicate the heathen world (cf. ver. 5), and Israel might quite well be spoken of as "God's covenant with mankind." But, then, what is said in vers. 2–4, 6, is not applicable to a people. And the call of the servant of Jehovah to the prisoners and the blind, points, according to vers. 16, 18 f. and xliii. 8, when the context is looked at with unprejudiced eyes, to something done to Israel.[1] The prophet might speak in such terms of himself. And unquestionably he does speak of himself in many passages of this book. But he obviously does not mean to speak of himself as an individual. Indeed, he sometimes uses even the expression "the messengers of Jehovah," that is, he speaks in the name of מְבַשֶּׂרֶת צִיּוֹן,[2] the prophetic people. Hence, in xlii. 1 ff., the designation "servant of Jehovah" cannot refer to an individual in contradistinction to the people, for it is as clear as possible that, both immediately before and after, it is used of the people. Here, therefore, as there is at any rate no mention of a future personage,

[1] לפקח is obviously quite parallel to לאור and לברית. xliv. 25 ff., xlviii. 16 ff., l. 4 ff., lxi. 1 ff. (10 f. is put into the mouth of Jerusalem).

[2] B. J. xl. 9 (xli. 27).

the servant of Jehovah I take to be the covenant-keeping Israel, which has the prophet as its representative spokesman, and is considered one with empirical Israel in its vocation, although distinguished from it in its actual form. In like manner, the prophet speaks of himself also in xlviii. 16 ff., l. 4 ff., but only as the common mouthpiece of all in Israel who are faithful to their God.[1]

Similarly, in xlix. 1 ff., the servant of Jehovah can only be this self-same covenant-keeping Israel. It would in itself be somewhat singular to speak of the whole people as armed with the word of the spirit as with a sword, and as being a weapon of God like a sword or an arrow. But such expressions might, at least in rhetorical speech, be applied to that Israel which was really "called from the womb to be the servant and instrument of God." But how can the people of Israel, which is blind and deaf and doomed to destruction because of its sins,[2] lament in a style like this: "I have laboured in vain, I have given my strength for nought and in vain"? How can it be said of the people, that its task is to turn Jacob to God, so that Israel may be gathered unto Him? For, to translate "that God may turn Jacob," is plainly to do violence to the whole structure of the sentence; and it is not a construction justified by li. 16. How can Israel, the people, be called not merely "to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to bring again the dispersed of Israel," but to be "a light to the Gentiles, that the salvation of God may be unto the end of the earth," "a covenant of the people to raise up the land, to make them inherit the desolate heritages; saying to them that are bound, 'Go forth'?" These words can only mean either the prophet or the Israel that remained faithful to its God, the "Zion" of the captivity, which, as contrasted with the other sections of the people, especially with northern Israel, is the nucleus of the new kingdom of God. Now the reference to the

[1] Cf. B. J. xliv. 26, lii. 7. [2] B. J. xlvi. 1, 2, 3, 8, 12, xlviii. 1, 4, 8, l. 1, etc.

prophet is made impossible by the remarkable ver. 3, where the servant of God is addressed as "Israel in whom I will be glorified." For here it is neither allowable to strike out the word "Israel" nor to translate, "Thou art my servant, and in Israel I shall be glorified," nor yet, "it is Israel in whom I shall be glorified through thee." And I cannot think it possible that the prophet himself would be described as "Israel in whom I will be glorified," that is, as "the true Israel." The expression is only admissible if Israel be actually addressed; but in that case it must be the people in whom God is glorified, the Zion of the captivity, the Israel faithful to God.

What elements unite in the servant of Jehovah is then made quite plain to us by such passages as liv. 17, lxv. 8, 9, 13, 15, 22, lxvi. 2, 5, 14. Here, in direct opposition to the idolatrous part of the people in Babylon, "the servants," "the chosen ones," are those from whom the Israel of the future will spring, on whose account God does not utterly reject His people, whose future happiness will be a brilliant contrast to the destruction of the sinful nation. Those servants, poor and oppressed, and now despised and rejected of men, are to be named by a new name, and to obtain full salvation. Here, then, beyond all doubt, the members of the true Israel, among whom the prophet reckons himself, are regarded as a complete organism, as the seed of the Israel to be, in contrast to the Israel that is.

Since in the actual Israel there grows up, especially through the sifting process of national misfortune, a distinction between the people which declines its appointed work of salvation, and the faithful nucleus which essays to make that work its own, the word denotes, not only Israel in general, but this faithful nucleus in particular. This band, the true Zion, the seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal, naturally find their best representatives among the prophets, the servants of God. It is theirs by meekness, gentleness, and inexhaustible strength, in the fulness

of the spirit and of prophetic eloquence, to make atonement for Israel, to lead him out of prison, to enlighten him, and then to become a light unto the Gentiles, to give unto them judgment and instruction in the truth for which they are already waiting.[1] Hence this term becomes gradually narrower, just like the title "Son of God;" and, like it, this too was carried along by its own weight to a prophetic application, in which this servant of God and his work are seen in their perfect form.

3. The idea that the best suffer, is already met with in the tradition and history of the earliest times. But it does not reach its full clearness and significance till the time of national misfortune. The people itself, as the servant of God, is an instance of such suffering. The people of Jehovah has to endure a thousand forms of oppression and woe. Its treasured possessions and sanctuaries become the spoil of the stranger. It must die a shameful death. "The plowers plowed upon its back: they made long their furrows."[2] And that, not because it was more wicked than other peoples, than haughty Assyria or voluptuous Babylon, but because to this people more had been given and of it more was required; because it had a unique vocation, and had therefore to incur all the special risks and responsibilities involved in that vocation. Indeed, suffering often comes upon the people just because of its closer relation to God. "Yea, for Thy sake are we killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter."[3] Thus Israel itself already reveals a suffering which, though deserved, it is true, on account of the people's faithlessness and sin, is nevertheless, in the last instance, due to this people's redemptive work, is therefore caused by God's love, and has to be endured in order to redeem the world.

But if, among the people as a whole, guilt and suffering simply balance each other, the real peculiarity of the suffering endured by the servant of Jehovah is revealed in quite a

[1] B. J. xlii. 1–7, xlix. 1 ff., lxi. 1 ff.
[2] Ps. cxxix. 3.
[3] Ps. xliv. 23 (a late Psalm).

different fashion in the Israel which is His real servant. This is shown by the whole position of this true Israel. It has to bear all the misery of which it is so far from sharing the guilt, that it has spent its whole life in striving to avert that guilt. It feels sooner and more keenly than the people in general the wrath of God that rests on Israel. Whilst the Israel of the flesh is still foolish enough to dream of a brilliant deliverance, the true Israel learns from the woes of the present that God means to give His people up to judgment. Still, it must die with Israel, must lose the joy of its heart, so that "its eyes become a fountain of tears to weep day and night for the virgin daughter of its people."[1] To its own people it is odious by reason of its troublesome warnings, and they ridicule it as a self-tormenting dreamer. To the hostile heathen world, which rightly recognises in it the invincible nucleus of God's people, it is a special object of scorn and hatred.[2] And all this it has to suffer just because it will not separate itself from God and from the divine task assigned to Israel, or from the people as a whole;[3] because out of love to the people and enthusiasm for God and His salvation, it will rather suffer and die than save itself by separating from the people and leaving them without a seed of a nobler future. Hence this suffering is endured in faith, love, and hope.

For such a picture the life of the individual servants of God, especially towards the end of the Babylonian age, furnished a rich choice of striking examples. In the Psalms we hear the complaint of the pious, "that God has forsaken him, keeping far from his cries, from the words of his roaring;" that all the billows go over his soul, that he must pine in the waterless pit of captivity, must for God's sake suffer indignity because the zeal of His house has eaten him up.[4] We see

[1] Jer. viii. 23, xiv. 17; cf. Lamentations.
[2] B. J. xlix. 7, l. 5–7; Ps. cxxxvii.
[3] Jer. xl. 4 ff.; B. J. l. 5.
[4] Ps. xxii. 2 ff. (שׁוּעָתִי), xxxviii., xl., xli., xlii. 4, 8, lxix. 8, 10.

Josiah, a king after God's own heart, trampled under foot of the stranger.[1] Jeremiah exhibits to us a life of such misery, that he would gladly flee from his people, and he curses the day when his mother bore him.[2] He is thus the prototype of the Man of sorrows, who withheld not His cheek from blows, nor hid His face from shame and spitting; of Him whom every one despised, whom the people abhorred, a servant of rulers.[3]

And why all this? Because of a mysterious decree of God, who allows the best of the age to endure the woes from which salvation is to spring;[4] because of the love of the best for their people and its redemptive calling, since they too, like Moses of old, choose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than share in the glory of the Gentiles.[5] That a seed may be preserved for the future, that an elect people may rise from the ashes of Israel, the best suffer and die. For, as one spares the grape for the sake of the new wine in it, so God spares the sinful people of Israel for the sake of these servants of His.[6] In the pains which they endure they certainly feel the effect of God's wrath, and indeed have a far deeper and clearer consciousness of it than others.[7] But they feel that this wrath does not concern them personally. They know that it is due to the sinful people Israel; and that they have a share in bearing it, simply because their love makes them stand by this Israel. They know they are enduring the wrath of God for the sake of others, for the sake of their people, to make forgiveness possible, and bring a better future within reach; that they are bearing it as substitutes. Hence Ezekiel symbolically takes upon himself the guilt, that is, the punishment of Jerusalem, for every year of its exile a day.[8]

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 29.
[2] Jer. ix. 1, xi. 19, xv. 10.
[3] B. J. xlix. 7, l. 5 f.
[4] B. J. lii. 12–liii. to end.
[5] Jer. xl. 4 (Heb. xi. 26).
[6] B. J. lxv. 8 f.
[7] *E.g.* Jer. ix. 10, 12, xvi. 3–16, xvii. 3, esp. xv. 17.
[8] Ezek. iv. 4 f.

4. This figure was of supreme importance for the whole development of the Old Testament religion. It came into collision with everything which a superficial faith was wont to regard as most certain. When Israel was first brought face to face with the idea that suffering might fall upon a saint without being deserved as a punishment, it was only after a hard struggle and many a bitter trial that it succeeded in making this thought its own. The whole book of Job proves how distressing, how well-nigh unbearable, this idea was at first considered.[1] Still more powerfully must the traditional views of Israel have been changed by the prolonged experience of such special suffering on the part of the very best among them. And suffering, due to God's gracious will and mysterious counsel, borne vicariously by the guiltless as an atonement for the people, which finds deliverance on account of its connection with the suffering servant of God, —such suffering must cast a new light on other problems of religion as well. The priest who acts as mediator for Israel, and is consecrated to atone for the shortcomings of Israel's sacred offerings, now appears in a far higher form, because his right no longer depends on his office, but on moral action. Sacrifice, the offering up of unwilling and unconscious beasts, had to pale before this sacrifice, in which the upright voluntarily gave themselves up from love, to make atonement for the people.[2]

The greater the emphasis laid upon the office of the servant of Jehovah, upon his call to do the work of God upon earth, the more significant did the figure of the suffering righteous man

[1] It is easily understood how the book of Job should, on this account, be often interpreted as referring to Israel's condition when in exile. So especially Seineke (*das Evan. des A. T.* 1890). He regards Jeremiah as the prototype of Isa. xl. ff., and both as the prototypes of Job (cf. Hoekstra, "Job de Knecht van Jehovah," *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1871, v. 1 ff. He translates איוב by "the tempted"=the suffering Israel). But Job deals only with the problem of the suffering saint, not with the problem of salvation by vicarious suffering. And the eighth century already gave occasion enough for pondering that problem.

[2] אשם, B. J. liii. 10.

necessarily become. For it was thus made clear that the innermost secret of successful work for the kingdom of God is self-sacrificing suffering, vicarious self-surrender. When the picture of the servant of Jehovah became embodied, to the eye of the prophets, in an ideal person, it was in the figure of a prophet labouring faithfully, not only by word and deed to build up the kingdom of God, but by loving surrender of his own person, by vicarious suffering, to make atonement for the people.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PERSIAN AGE. ISRAEL'S RESURRECTION.

1. So far as we can judge from the literature that has come down to us, the beginning of the exilic age was, on the whole, an unfruitful age as regards religion and morality. The unpurified mass of the people, overwhelmed by the terrible catastrophe, perished under it. The sketches Ezekiel gives, not merely of the last days of Jerusalem, but also of his own associates, who were the very bone and sinew of the exiles, indicate a very gloomy state of matters.[1] How much lower still must have been the condition of those exiled along with Zedekiah! The Israelites who fled with Jeremiah into Egypt, actually thought that the worship of the Queen of heaven was legitimate, and that the neglect of it had brought misfortune on their country.[2] Stolid despair or light-hearted surrender of all that made the religion of Israel precious, must have been the feelings most prevalent among them; and the gods whom they had willingly worshipped in their own land, now obtained a still more general preference as conquerors of "Jehovah and His people." The beautiful pictures which the book of Daniel gives us are not historical

[1] *E.g.* Ezek. ii., iii., xiii., xiv. [2] Jer. xliv. 17 f.

pictures, but products of the imagination of a later age, which painted earlier ages in ideal colours.

The true men of God of that age, indeed, never doubted that Israel's death was but a passing over into a new life. The old hopes lived on,[1] but without independent vigour; and the pressure of the Chaldean empire and its great monarch, God's servant Nebuchadnezzar,[2] checked any very joyful hope. Even Jeremiah had assigned a long lifetime, seventy years, as the duration of the captivity, and had exhorted the captives to accommodate themselves from the first to their new circumstances as permanent.[3] Such are the circumstances amid which we must picture to ourselves this oppressed and apparently dying people, among whom the forces of a new era were fermenting unseen, until, with Nebuchadnezzar's death, the rapid decline of Babylon began, and the threatening figure of the Medo-Persian empire showed itself in the north-east.

As already hinted, it was in this time of exhaustion and stagnation that the eventful step was taken which decided the whole later religious development of Israel. From the day the Deuteronomic law was made by Josiah the law of the nation, it was in the very nature of things that there should be a tendency in the holy people to regulate the national life more and more strictly by a written "Law of Moses," and to put a more and more artificial stamp on life and worship. Those circles to whom the Thorah in the mouth of the priest was of greater importance than the word of God from the mouth of the prophets, could not but feel impelled in this direction,—all the more that the true prophetic spirit in Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah was being more and more lost by the people.[4] And it was just the want, during the Exile, of the sacred

[1] *E.g.* Ezek. xxviii. 25 ff., xxxiv. 11 ff., xxxvi. ff., xl. ff.

[2] Ezek. xxix. 20; Jer. xxv. 9, xxvii. 6, xliii. 10.

[3] Jer. xxv. 11, xxix.

[4] It is true, the circles that regarded Zion as impregnable, seem not to have given up their sanguine hopes till late. Jer. xxix.

forms that helped to surround them with a still brighter halo, and make the hope of their restoration be cherished more ardently than ever. The yearning fondness for the sacred institutions which had perished, built them up anew in higher perfection as ideal pictures for the future. The typical representative of this prophetic tendency is the priest Ezekiel, who, without ever referring to a Mosaic law of worship, drew an ideal sketch of Israel's holy things. The priestly working out of this line of thought is the historical work of A. In it the whole of sacred legend and history is turned into a history of the development of the sacred institutions of Israel, and an introduction to the best thought-out and most logical system of ritual which has ever guided the religious life of a people. This is presented to the reader as a series of original instructions given by God to the community led by Moses. The more this school of teaching governed the life of the community, the more impossible must it have become to understand the real ideas of the great prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries, although their main dogmatic and ethical positions were not attacked in detail. Still B. J. xl.–lxvi. shows that in its initial stages this development was by no means everywhere successful in quenching the old spirit.

2. At the time when the Persian power first began to bestir itself though still far from Babylon, the necessary process of sifting and purifying Judah had been gradually completed. The great mass of the people had beyond a doubt got used to their new surroundings, and had begun to turn them to good account. This is proved by the small number of those who could subsequently bring themselves to exchange the comforts they had secured in Babylonia for the insecurity of their native land. And assuredly a people, the majority of whom were inclined to idolatry, would willingly and readily adopt the religion of their conquerors. Only on this supposition can we understand the exilic prophet's bitter ridicule of the folly of idolatry, and the complaints he makes against his own

people, complaints partly borrowed from older prophets, and partly uttered by himself.[1] With all the greater vigour and determination, however, did those circles which represented the true Israel give expression to their enthusiastic attachment to the true religion, and to their consciousness of the everlasting mission of God's people.

The lowest depths of misery had now been sounded. It was not merely that they were exposed, as members of a nation captive and spoiled, to all manner of insult in the proud and wanton capital—"worm Jacob, servant of rulers, despised of men."[2] As faithful members of that nation they had to endure special suffering. Their haughty conquerors gathered around them, and, mocking at their grief, said to them in taunting tones, "Sing us one of the songs of Zion."[3] And as danger drew nearer Babylon, they naturally became objects of suspicion and hatred. They were regarded as the natural allies of every enemy. The brave men of God who scattered their rousing words of consolation and hope among the enslaved community, dared not do so except anonymously, in writings secretly circulated. Hence the names of the greatest men of God who lived amid the catastrophes of those days are unknown to us. Yet, despite these precautions, many doubtless died as martyrs, meeting the fate which Jeremiah prophesied would befall the false prophets in Babylon who preached rebellion.[4] This is the meaning of the solemn words about the righteous man, "who perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart." To this the figure of the suffering servant of God already points.[5] And perhaps the very authors of the prophecies that have come down to us, perished or were executed as disturbers of the people, their names being lost in the overthrow of Babylon. Meanwhile the worldly-minded among the Israelites

[1] B. J. xl. 18 ff., xli. 6 ff., xliv. 10. ff.; cf. lvii., lxv. 3 ff., lxvi. 17.
[2] B. J. xli. 14, xlix. 7.
[3] Ps. cxxxvii. 3.
[4] Jer. xxix. 21 ff.
[5] B. J. lii. 13 ff., lvii. 1.

would be all the more anxious to hold aloof from these suspects and side with their enemies, in order to enjoy in peace the comforts they were beginning to obtain.

But amid this misery the faith and hope of the godly became all the stronger and more enthusiastic. Their leaders are not the priests, who, as teachers of what is clean and unclean, had the making of the laws. It is the prophet's unfettered faith and enthusiastic piety that win the victory. The idols of the heathen are described in all their impotence with the most biting scorn.[1] The might of the world as against the omnipotence of God is counted as "the small dust of the balance, and as a drop of a bucket."[2] Cyrus, the youthful hero who is filling Asia with his fame, the eagle from the East, the servant of the unseen spiritual God, is the anointed of Jehovah, called by Him and sent to execute His will upon Babylon and to rebuild Jerusalem.[3] The night is over, the warfare ended, and messengers with glad tidings of victory are drawing near to forsaken, childless Zion,[4] who will once more become the mother of countless throngs. The call resounds, bidding them return home boldly.[5] The time of blessing is nigh, the feast of Jehovah for all people on Mount Zion. Death is vanquished; Sheol gives up its captives.[6] Underneath, in the realm of the dead, the king of Babylon is greeted with the mocking song of the kings whom he had once trampled in the dust.[7] This true Israel, the servant of Jehovah, not only foretold the new birth of the nation, but brought it about himself. Had not a believing community gathered round the inspired prophets of the Exile, ready to stake its all on Israel's future, firmly convinced of God's redemptive purpose and of the glorious future, Judah would have perished like Ephraim in the world of heathenism

[1] B. J. xl. 18 ff., xli. 6 ff., xliv. 10 ff.
[2] B. J. xl. 15.
[3] B. J. xliv. 28, xlv. 1, xlvi. 11.
[4] B. J. xl. 1 f., lii. 1, 7, liv. 1 ff.
[5] B. J. xlviii. 20, lii. 11.
[6] B. J. xxv. 6, 8, xxvi. 19 ff. (if we may apply this prophecy here).
[7] B. J. xiv. 4 ff.

without leaving a trace behind. In that case, indeed, the liberating edict of Cyrus would never have been issued. It never occurred to him to dismiss to their homes the other nations that had been transplanted by their Assyrian or Babylonian conquerors. He acted as he did, as tradition has quite rightly maintained,[1] because he found that, in this case, restoration had been foretold and was eagerly desired.[2] And still less would there have been found, without these men of God, a community strong enough to overcome all opposing elements, and actually to create a new national life that lasted for centuries, and which only perished when its fruit had been ripened for eternity and brought into the light.

The prophecies of these men shine as with a higher light; they have with justice been called the Gospel of the Old Covenant. They are marked by a tone of incomparable grandeur and enthusiasm, and, amid all the darkness of the age, by a sublime serenity. And there is something more in them that has always a wonderful attraction for a Christian. This true Israel had felt itself in its glory in the midst of suffering, conscious of having endured the very worst without any guilt on its part, from enthusiastic love to God and a self-denying devotion to the mission of Israel. Without priest or king, without temple or worship, without earthly independence, it had found its true life in the spiritual beauty of religion. Here, therefore, hope is purer, more spiritual, less earthly, than anywhere else. Here there is a large heart ready, with warm affection, to receive the whole world into the new Israel.[3] Here little regard is paid to outward forms except where these are necessary to indicate loyalty to Israel,

[1] Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 1. 1 f. Naturally his narrative is cast in the mould of his own time.

[2] From the light the Babylonian inscriptions throw on Cyrus, we certainly cannot infer that he took a special interest in the religion of Israel as distinguished from that of Babylon (A. H. Sayce, *Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments*). But any pious-minded man in ancient times was inclined to attend to oracles about himself, even though given by a foreign God.

[3] B. J. xlix. 6, lvi. 3 ff., lxvi. 23 (xxv. 6 ff.).

and boldness in confessing the truth,—as the keeping of the Sabbath, for instance, does,—little regard to royal glory and civil splendour. In this picture of the future, Israel itself, proved by suffering, crowned with victory, one in spirit, embracing all the world, stands as the central figure. Here once more, ere it gives place to priest and scribe, true prophecy reveals its full splendour.

3. This ideal of religion was not destined to receive an actual permanent form. The fulfilment was not such as to maintain the community at the high level of its spiritual birth. True, as had been foretold, the command was given to go forth and build up the old sanctuaries. And the true Israel, a small company, but great in faith and hope, returned home, with David's son Zerubbabel and the high priest Joshua at their head. They began to rebuild the city, by and by also to lay the foundations of the second temple;[1] and even prophets, a Haggai and a Zechariah, were again given to the people.

But the reality, poor and miserable as it was, was a sad contrast to the splendid picture in the hearts of those who had returned home. The hope of living in peace and harmony with the Persian Government was soon dispelled, not to speak of their thinking that even in religion they were in essential agreement with this people, and of their seeing in the conquering king a conscious and willing servant of Jehovah. Israel was to the Persians nothing more than any other petty people, which it was good policy to restore to its country, but which must on no account be made into a really strong and independent State. The ill-will of the neighbours found ready support in the suspicion of Persian satraps. All signs of budding prosperity were speedily destroyed by the miseries of a war with Egypt. Everything continued pitiable, poverty-stricken, and petty. The descendant of David was a Persian

[1] Whether this was attempted before the time mentioned in the books of Haggai and Zechariah is of no importance for the question before us. Cf. Schrader, *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, 1867.

deputy without power or influence. The kingdom of God was very far from including the whole world. Even the narrow limits of ancient Judah were not fully restored. Edom's grasping hands were not compelled to let go their hold. Instead of the old brother kingdom of Ephraim there stood face to face with Judah a Samaritan people of mixed descent, which ere long repaid with a bitter and venomous hatred the narrow exclusiveness of Judah. The new temple was on such an insignificant scale that sorrow and not joy filled the hearts of all who had seen the glory of the former.[1] Their prophets were Epigoni standing on the boundary line of mere learned imitation. In other respects, too, the new colony was certainly destined to indigence and misery. The most of the rich, indeed, remained in their accustomed homes beside the Euphrates.

Still the first generation of those who lived in the new Jerusalem continued to feel something of the inspiration of their fathers. What the reality lacked, faith and hope supplied. The disappointments which the founders of the nation had to bear, and their pitiable circumstances, were regarded as trials of faith.[2] The glorious days, the immediate advent of which the previous generation had hoped for and had expected to see, were thought of as merely postponed for a little. The people of God were standing, so ran their hopes, in the early dawn of the day of judgment. In short, the great world-catastrophe was at hand when everything would at last be arranged in accordance with the divine will.[3] The scion of David and the high priest are the heirs of promise; and if, in reality, they do not quite fulfil the divine promises, still they are pleasant and blessed pledges of a higher kingdom and priesthood.[4] Yet despite its poor exterior,

[1] Hagg. ii. 4; Zech. iv. 10; cf. Ezra iii. 12.

[2] Hagg. i. 4 ff., ii. 19 ff. [3] Hagg. ii. 6, 7, 22 ff.; Zech. i. 12 f.

[4] Hagg. i. 14, ii. 3 ff., 22 ff.; Zech. iii. 1 ff., iv. 6, vi. 11 ff. If Zechariah had regarded Zerubbabel himself as the promised one, which does not appear to me proved, the above sentence might then be worded even more strongly.

the new temple is to cast into the shade all the splendour which the earlier age has witnessed.[1]

Consequently, even this age was still rich in fruitful thoughts and hopes, and had great influence on the moral and religious life. It was just in these last days that Israel attained what the most brilliant epochs of her history had never realised. The outward commonwealth of Israel and the ideal of the people corresponded, so far at any rate as that is possible on earth. In the new Jerusalem there was neither idolatry, nor giddy, worldly enjoyment. None but the God of Israel was to be worshipped in His holy city. Decorous conduct, religious gravity, and hearty zeal for the nation's allotted task characterised every member of the new community. For only persons of this stamp could, in the circumstances, feel impelled to return home in hope and faith. This was really a people of God. Those who were Israelites after the flesh wished to be so also after the spirit, and that at least honestly. The new temple was actually a house through the gates of which righteous men entered in the name of the Lord.[2] And the community among which the Psalms of Ascent originated, manifested a personal piety and a sincerity of religious feeling which would compare favourably with the best ages.

But in these very circumstances there lurked the seeds of special dangers, and these actually came to light in the next generation. There was among the returning exiles an overwhelming proportion of priests, of men actually devoted to a religious career.[3] Without the necessary complement of a fresh, healthy secular life, this introduced into the life of the people an unhealthy, one-sided element akin to Pietism, of which the better ages of Israel had known nothing. The great mass of writings of a legal character, which the community now considered sacred, although it was only through

[1] Zech. iv. 10, viii. 3 ff. [2] Cf. Ps. cxviii. 20, 26; B. J. xxvi. 2.

[3] The Levites having been degraded into mere servants of the sons of Zadok, it is easily understood why so very few of them took part in the return.

Ezra that they obtained a really decisive influence over the people,[1] fostered the rise of a learned caste, and gave exaggerated importance to ritual. The new commonwealth was, in fact, not a nation, but a religious community gathering round sacred forms and ordinances. Hence "the congregation of Israel" having been synonymous with "the congregation of the righteous," one ran the risk of regarding these terms as synonymous long after unavoidable change in the circumstances of the people had rendered this view unjustifiable. But, as yet, such dangers were not apparent. Perhaps, as Kuenen thinks, the legal spirit of the real priest was at first stronger in those that remained behind in Babylon than in the community that returned home under the influence of the prophets.

In former times the view was often vigorously insisted on, that in the time of the Exile and immediately thereafter the Old Testament religion was largely moulded by foreign influences,—by the Chaldeans, and the peculiar science especially of an astrological character which had its home in Babylon, or by the Persians, whose spiritual worship of light, in which images were unknown, and which pointed to a kind of monotheism, was certainly by far the most likely to exercise an influence over the religious conceptions of Israel.

It must, first of all, be emphatically denied that the Chaldeans exercised any influence whatsoever on Old Testament religion. It is certainly true that the mass of the people did not keep clear of the sensuous and mysterious worship of Babylon. But the upholders of the true religion have nothing but scorn and ridicule for the idols and the secret learning connected with idolatry, and it is only these, the true Israel, that have anything to do with the Old Testament religion.[2] No body of men, indeed, can ever wholly resist the influence of the civilisation around them. Expressions and figures due

[1] Haggai (ii. 11) still points, not to a priestly *law-book*, but to *instruction* by the priests.

[2] B. J. xl. 18 ff., xli. 6 ff., xliv. 10 ff.

to Babylonian speech and thought, as well as highly imaginative conceptions connected with the brightly-coloured mythical systems of Inner Asia, found their way into the language even of the Israelites, as Ezekiel and the exilic portions of Deutero-Isaiah frequently show. But that has nothing to do with the Old Testament religion. It belongs merely to the outer garment of expression, to the language of rhetoric.

But even the Persians, although in religion they stood very much nearer to Israel, and were so far from being hated and despised that they were regarded with confidence by the best of the people, never exerted any real influence upon the religion of Israel. Any one who compares Zechariah and Haggai, or any of the Psalms that can be assigned with confidence to the earliest Persian period, with the pre-exilic and exilic works, *e.g.* with Job, Ezekiel, and the additions to Isaiah, will easily satisfy himself that no foreign elements of importance have been anywhere introduced. At the most it may be granted that in a few unessential points the religious view shows traces of an acquaintance with the Persian religion. Thus there now begins a tendency to draw fantastic pictures of the heavenly hierarchy, and a greater emphasis is attached to superhuman evil. Still it is not to be forgotten that even in these works such characteristics show themselves in a really striking fashion only at a much later period, and, therefore, are probably to be attributed less to the Persian religion than to the general tendency of the times — that the development of angelology may be explained from purely Old Testament materials,[1] and that the Satan of Zechariah, for example, is not different from the Satan of the book of Job. Even the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead grows so organically out of the Old Testament religion itself, and its presence in ancient Parseeism is so doubtful, that it cannot be taken into account here.

[1] Cf. also Kuenen, *l.c.* ii. 251 ff., and Kosters. The more transcendental working out of the doctrine of God must have had an influence on the doctrine of angels.

4. Thus the first age of the new Jerusalem already had the character of an age of Epigoni. But that it would finally develop into another spirit than that of the great prophets, was only decisively settled when, in Jerusalem, under the protection of the "secular arm" (Nehemiah), Ezra succeeded in realising his ideals as priest and scribe, organised the people into "a congregation under the Mosaic law," and imprinted on it the stamp which, in spite of many hostile influences, it ever afterwards retained in a form that became more and more definite and inalienable. It is clear that, at first, Ezra's schemes met with violent opposition. Not only did Manasseh go over to the Samaritans, but the rest of the prophets also became rebellious.[1] But at last Ezra was completely successful. Israel, the people of God, became the people of "the Jews," for so the people as a whole were called from this time onwards.[2] The lofty enthusiasm, the joyous assurance that relied on the Divine Spirit without looking anxiously to a sacred book, was replaced by an inward weakness which leant all the more heavily on the former strength. Instead of inward religious assurance, the letter of the law governed the life of the people. It was no longer needful to oppose to nature-worship the true religion in all its grand spiritual unity and depth. The principles of salvation were no longer matters of dispute in Israel. The only question was how to retain what had been given, and clothe it with the proper legal form. And this task was represented as the proper vocation of the people, which was forbidden by the conditions of its existence to undertake any other great national task.

Everything of true religious import that could be attained from an Old Testament standpoint the prophetic age attained. Before the divine life was revealed in human life through a person, and therefore in a way purely spiritual and

[1] Neh. vi. 14.

[2] יהודים, *e.g.* Esth. iii. 6, 13, iv. 3, 7, 13, 14, 16, v. 13, vi. 10, 13, viii. 1, 3, 7 ff., ix. 5, 25 ff.

accessible to all men, that is, before Christ appeared, no higher conception of salvation could be formed than that proclaimed by the great prophets and poets of the earlier ages. Hence we meet everywhere with signs of waning spiritual power. Smaller men administer the treasures bequeathed by greater. Whatever new addition is made is but a doubtful gain, as will always be the case when originality and freshness of thought are confined within fixed limits. Still we must take care lest we treat these ages unjustly by looking at them through the spectacles of prejudice. Not only did the gain in real moral and religious knowledge won by the earlier ages remain, on the whole, absolutely intact throughout the later; but the personal inward devotion of individuals to this religion and its benefits, a devotion utterly unknown in the earlier ages, was a sort of compensation for the creative religious genius of these earlier generations. Religious poetry put forth its fairest blossoms. The relation towards religious and moral problems was more self-conscious and individual than before. Leavening elements showed themselves, which, if not purely progressive, nevertheless had in them some seeds of universal religion. Consequently this age led on, not merely to the Pharisaism that was hostile alike to Christ and to the prophets, but also to those companies of upright Israelites who found in Jesus the fulfilment of their eager longings.

5. Only for a short time could it appear as if the Persian empire would treat the kingdom of God in a manner essentially different from that adopted by its predecessors, as if it were destined to become the helper and servant of the God of Israel. Already Haggai and Zechariah see in Persia the mountain that must become a plain,[1] and know that the time of fulfilment cannot arrive until the earth ceases to be at rest,[2] and God again shakes both the heaven and the earth.[3] This becomes more and more the prevailing view. True,

[1] Zech. iv. 7. [2] Zech. i. 11 ff. [3] Hagg. ii. 7.

the people do not forget the great service which Persia rendered the kingdom of God by authorising Jerusalem to be rebuilt, and by at last granting the often postponed permission to fortify the city and restore the temple.[1] Persia is not, like Babylon and Assyria, an actual enemy and troubler of the sanctuary. But, otherwise, the circumstances soon came to resemble those of former days. However obscure those times are for us, it is beyond question that the main characteristic of the Persian epoch was galling bondage and heavy burdens.[2] Even here there was no rest. The eye of the people had once more to look for the golden age in a new future, away behind new and fateful judgments of God.

In this age a healthy national development was for Israel an impossibility. But it clung all the more firmly and faithfully to what was left it as its most peculiar treasure, and in which alone it could still lead an independent life,—to the religion of its forefathers. In this connection there are two things which specially call for attention. The first is the holy city with its temple and its worship. The public worship of God became more and more the pride and joy of the whole people. Splendidly performed according to the prescribed rules, it presented more and more the appearance of a perfect sacred service. The priests, severed as they now were by an express law[3] from the Levites, were very numerous in proportion to the number of those who returned,[4] and thus gave the whole people a more distinctly religious character than ancient Israel, with its fresh and often flourishing national life, had ever had. Their joy in beautiful forms of service made them delight to trace the origin of these back to the earliest times. A already represented Moses as the author of a well-organised

[1] Cf. Ezra i. 2, vi. 3, 10.

[2] Cf. Eccles. iii. 16, v. 7, viii. 2 ff., 9 f., x. 6, 16 f., 20 (Ewald, *Gesch. d. V. Isr.*, Bd. iv., 3rd ed. p. 168 ff.).

[3] Ezra ii. 36 ff., 62; Neh. vii. 64.

[4] Ezra ii. 36 ff.; Neh. xii.

order of service. The sacred music and other arrangements of public worship were referred back to David.[1] Thus the olden days were held in remembrance by the people as an ideal age in the Levitical sense, which they never in reality were. The laws which, founded on the work of Moses, had grown in the long course of centuries into a well-rounded written code, were regularly read and expounded.[2] The high priest, raised by A even in theory above his colleagues, and now the one really independent representative of the people, obtained more and more influence. His relation to the weak vassal princes was altogether different from what it had formerly been towards the warlike and powerful kings of Judah.[3] What an impression was produced by the imposing figure of such a high priest if his personality was in keeping with the dignity of his office, we may readily infer from the sketch of the son of Onias by Jesus the son of Sirach, although this sketch, of course, belongs to a much later age.[4]

And to the temple with its attendants, the community of the dispersion attached itself with ever-growing zeal as to a common centre, a connection, indeed, of which Zechariah, chap. vi., already gives proof. Nay more, "those who feared Jehovah," the co-religionists of Israel who were of heathen descent, by agreeing to worship at the temple, prefigured a world-wide kingdom of God. Owing to this growing importance of the temple and its servants, more and more weight was, as a matter of course, also attached to sacrifice, and to the whole outward service performed at the temple. The

[1] 1 Chron. vi. 16 f., 24, 29, ix. 33, xv. 16 f., xvi. 4 ff., 37. ff., xxiii. 5, xxv.; 2 Chron. v. 13, vii. 3, 6, viii. 15, xxix. 25, 30; Ezra iii. 10; Neh. xii. 45 f.

[2] Neh. viii.

[3] This is brought out most clearly by comparing the position of the Patriarchs with that of the Rajahs in the Turkish empire. The conquerors gave them a sort of political position which they never conceded to the old ruling families. Thus the people saw in them the last remnant of its national honour and importance.

[4] Jes. Sir. 50. In this connection one involuntarily thinks of the impression which the splendour of the episcopate made on the nations at the time of the barbarian inroads.

tendency to give such predominance to sacred form dates from Ezekiel and A; but it was not till the civil and ecclesiastical reformation by Ezra and Nehemiah that its victory was complete. The perfect freedom with which the prophets dealt with outward forms of worship made way for a legalism pious and worthy of respect, but at the same time narrow and dangerous. It was from this standpoint that the chronicler wrote the history of the olden time. The Levitical righteousness of the individual kings is always the standard of their favour with God. The matters recorded with the greatest detail are arrangements for worship and reforms in divine service.

The second and still more important point is Holy Scripture. By the exertions of Ezra and his successors, the people were given in a permanent form the best part of their sacred books so far as these had reference to law. Ezra himself was certainly the first to put some of these writings into a thoroughly finished form, for the tradition which ascribes to him their final redaction is in the main perfectly trustworthy. Though the legends as to the miraculous way in which he restored these writings by inspiration[1] are, of course, later than Josephus, they at least warrant the inference that, according to popular recollection, this work of Ezra was not purely formal. He and his successors, taking the document of A as a basis, formed into a single whole the book of early history and of the giving of the laws. And since A thus stamps its character on the whole, *the statutes relating to sacred form and the exact provision for the external holiness of Israel became the foundation-stone of national life.* The prophets, on the contrary, had regarded *faith and morality* as the essential characteristics of the nation founded by Moses. Naturally, in presence of *this* Thorah, Israel's religious history looked quite different from what it had appeared to an Amos or an Isaiah. Except in the case of the Law, there was no thought as yet of "closing the Canon." During this age and the following,

[1] 4 Ezra xiv.

such productions as books of narrative, psalms, and even artificial aftergrowths of prophecy were still freely added to the other books. But to the "Law" the people no longer stood in the same relation as to their own living religious writings. It was something not to be touched. Its very letter had become sacred. Learned scribes began to master its contents. It was therefore inevitable that, in the consciousness of the community, whatever was statutory and external, whatever could be laid down in fixed rules and forms, should come to the forefront.[1] The law, closed as it now was, came to be the real centre of religion.[2] Accordingly, attempts were made to construct a theology of the law, that is, a religious jurisprudence. The transition from inward religious assurance to a dependence on scholarship is, of course, always a gradual process.

We must accordingly think of the religious life of Israel during the later Persian epoch as predominantly conservative and ritualistic. Around the temple with its worship, around the high priest as representative of the people's religious independence, around the Scriptures which were growing into a Canon as the divine inheritance of Israel, there gathered a pious and earnest community—on the whole, in spite of many an exception, more strictly moral and religious than any previous community had been. But it no longer possessed the creative force of earlier days. And just as the greater technical skill of ages when art is decaying cannot compensate for the want of the genius which distinguishes epochs of progress, so in the sphere of religion, the earnestness and piety of the average man cannot make up for the want of the creative religious spirit which glows in those who live during the periods of religious growth.

[1] As a natural consequence of this, the statutes relating to the life of the people soon appear of greater importance than the acts of sacrifice performed in the temple without the co-operation of the people. The "Book of Scripture" is a stronger power than the temple.

[1] Ps. i., xix.*b*, cxix.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SACRED INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL ACCORDING TO "THE LAW."

1. *Levites and Priests.*

LITERATURE.—Ugolino, *Thesaurus antiq. sacr.* vol. xii. (Saubert, Krumbholz, Boldich, Braun, Selden, Carpzov, "Ueber den Hohenpriester"). Herzog, *Realencyclopædie*, art. "Hohepriester, Leviten, Priesterthum" (Oehler, 2nd ed. Orelli). Saalschütz, *Mosaisches Recht*, i. 89 f. Küper, *Das Priesterthum des alten Bundes*, 1865. Maybaum, *Entwicklung des altisraelitischen Priesterthums*, 1880.

1. Alongside of Nazirite and prophet, the Levitical priest had from the first the very greatest influence on the development of the religion of Israel.[1] As a distinct order, whose life-interests were all bound up with the worship of the national God at the national sanctuary, this priesthood in times of division and anarchy firmly upheld the national unity. For a time the national life gathered round the sanctuary at Shiloh. And the persecution of Jehovah's priests at Nob no doubt contributed largely to the final downfall of Saul's dynasty and to David's triumph. Having secured a higher and more secure position at Jerusalem owing

[1] The כהנים הלוים of Deuteronomy (x. 8, xvii. 9, 18, xviii. 1–8, xxi. 5, xxiv. 8, xxxi. 9) and of the older historical documents (Josh. iii. 3, viii. 33; Jer. xxxiii. 21 ff.; yet cf. 1 Kings viii. 4 according to the Massorah) represent, in my opinion, the original relation of Levites and priests. The Levites collectively have the right to the priesthood and its revenues (Josh. xiii. 14, 33, xviii. 7; 1 Sam. ii. 28; Deut. xviii. 6 ff., xxxiii. 8 ff.). Certain families of them have the right to the national priesthood. Such is still Josiah's view, for he allows even the Levitical priests of the high places to keep their incomes (2 Kings xxiii. 9). It was owing to the number of the Levites being out of all proportion to the decimated people, to the concentration of worship at Jerusalem, and to the fact that most of the Levitical families had taken part in the services at high places, that the distinction between priests and Levites grew up, which was legalised by Ezekiel (xl. 45 f., xliii. 19, xliv. 9 ff., xlviii. 11), and taken for granted by A. The exilic prophet still thinks it possible to take "Levitical priests" in the new Jerusalem from other families also (B. J. lxvi. 21 ff.).

to the temple being there, they gave Judah religious ascendency over Israel, however averse the despotic kings of the Davidic family may have been to grant the priests political influence and independence.[1] To the priesthood is due the credit of having given the sacred ordinances of Israel more and more the form of fixed laws. It was the high priest who introduced Deuteronomy. The work of A was of priestly origin. And the whole character of Ezekiel's views points unmistakably to his close connection with priestly interests.

Still, unlike the prophets, the priests were not always on the side of religious progress. This was not because there were priests who gave themselves up to nature-worship, and showed but little zeal in opposing the arbitrary doings of the kings,[2] or because the prophets bitterly complain of the selfishness, corruption, and luxury of the priests who abuse their position as judges for purposes of oppression, regard the sins of the people as good sources of income, and dishonour the right of asylum in the priestly cities by wanton acts of violence.[3] Such conduct would have no influence on the development of religion. It was rather because the very existence of a priestly class tends to exaggerate the value of ritual, and to change into a law what was formerly mere sacred custom, and thus make religion consist mainly of outward ceremonies. The Thorah of the priest pointed in a different direction from the word of the prophet, although it was not till after Josiah that this antagonism became theoretically definite.[4]

Still, whatever faults might be found with individual priests, the priesthood, as a whole, is represented as an important factor in Israel's religious life, highly honoured and influential.

[1] Solomon changes the high priesthood (1 Kings ii. 26; cf. 1 Sam. ii. 31, 35, xiv. 3; 2 Sam. xv. 24).

[2] 2 Kings xvi. 16; Zeph. iii. 4.

[3] *E.g.* Hos. iv. 8, v. 1, vi. 9; Micah iii. 11; Isa. xxviii. 7; Zeph. iii. 4; Jer. i. 18, ii. 26, iv. 9, vi. 13; Ezek. xxii. 25 ff.

[4] This antagonism naturally showed itself still more plainly where, as in the northern kingdom, the priesthood wished, in spite of the preaching of the prophets, to maintain an antiquated and impure form of religion (Amos vii.).

Indeed, the reputation and influence of the priestly class were but little affected by the contempt with which many of its members were regarded in private life. That is quite natural where it is mainly the duty of a priest to perform mysterious acts of ritual, and where he is believed to exert an influence over the divine powers, and to maintain a mysterious connection with them such as ordinary mortals do not possess. Thus Eli's sons did not ruin the priesthood by their profligacy.[1] Nor was the high position of the Levitical priesthood injured either by the strolling Levites in the time of the Judges,[2] or by the insecure position of the same class which Deuteronomy presupposes when, in consequence of their having become too numerous, it commends them to public charity, along with the poor and the stranger.[3] They are still the judges of what is "clean" and "holy," and the administrators of the oracles of God. Hence the very Hosea who censures the priests in the most bitter fashion, also describes a hopelessly obstinate person as "one who strives with the priest."[4] In direct opposition to the blessing of Jacob, the song of the Deuteronomist distinguishes the tribe of Levi thus—

> "Let Thy Thummim and Thy Urim be with Thy godly one,
> Whom Thou didst prove at Massah,
> With whom Thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah."

It is in these terms that the poet addresses God, while he praises Levi thus—

> "Who said of his father and of his mother, I have not seen him;
> Neither did he acknowlege his brethren,
> Nor knew he his own children:
> For they have observed Thy word,
> And keep Thy covenant.
> They shall teach Jacob Thy judgment,
> And Israel Thy law:
> They shall put incense before Thee,
> And whole burnt-offering upon Thine altar."[5]

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[1] 1 Sam. ii., iii. [2] Judg. xvii.
[3] Deut. xii. 12, 18, 19, xiv. 27, 29, xvi. 11, xviii. 1, xxvi. 11 ff.
[4] Hos. iv. 4 (Deut. xvii. 12). [5] Deut. xxxiii. 8–10 (Gen. xlix. 5).

Jeremiah attaches great importance to the priesthood, and with Ezekiel priestly interests are always uppermost.[1] And how important a *rôle* a high priest could play among this people, is shown by the history of Athaliah's dethronement and the reformation under Josiah.[2]

Ezekiel's legislation was meant to separate on a definite principle the Jerusalem priesthood from the other Levitical circles.[3] But in the well-defined figure of his high priest, in the degrading of the Levites to mere temple-servants, and in the completed laws anent the rights and duties of the priests, A was the first to sketch out what became realised fact after Ezra's time.[4]

After the Exile the high priest was the one official in the new nation who really possessed a measure of independence. His was the office over which the Persian suzerain could exercise least supervision. And the removal of the Davidic king from beside the high priest must have had to a certain extent the same effect, on a miniature scale, as the downfall of the Roman empire on the development of the power of the Roman bishop. Compared with the high priest, the Persian officer in Jerusalem, even when a Zerubbabel, was necessarily quite in the shade. Thus in Zechariah it is clear that the high priest Joshua takes the leading part. If he discharges his duties aright, he is to have access to God with the attendant angels.[5]

The earlier age of Israel saw in the priest chiefly the ephod-bearer[6]—that is, the medium through which Jehovah delivered His oracles, and this because the daily sacrifices of private

[1] Jer. xxxiii. 18–26; Ezek. xliii. 19 ff., xliv. 9 ff., xlviii. 11 ff.

[2] 2 Kings xi. 4, xii. 3, xxiii. 4.

[3] Ezek. xliv. 18 ff., 29 ff.; Ex. xxviii., xxix., xxxix. The sons of Zadok are, according to the historical books, of later Levitical nobility than the family of Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 27–36.

[4] Larger incomes and life-tenure, Lev. vi., vii.; Num. xviii. The claim of the other Levites to equality with Aaron is, according to him, rebellion punishable with death, Num. xvi.

[5] Zech. iii. 7.

[6] 1 Sam. xiv. 3, 8.

individuals and of the several tribes were considered less dependent on the services of priests.[1] Besides, the priests were the natural teachers of the people regarding what was clean and unclean, regarding what the sacred customs of Israel did or did not allow.[2] In later times the oracle fell gradually into the background, while the real worship at the national sanctuary came more and more to the front. The chronicler, besides, speaks of them "judging" the people according to "the law of Jehovah," especially since Jehoshaphat's time. Still it is a question how far this statement is to be trusted.[3] When the law had obtained official recognition, it naturally fell to the priesthood to superintend the whole public life of the people in so far as it was regulated by the law.[4]

2. It was only in the second Jerusalem that the theory of the priesthood, which was henceforward the prevailing one in Israel, was worked out in distinct contrast to that of earlier days. While it was formerly a fundamental conviction that the whole people was holy,[5] and capable, therefore, of drawing near unto God, A, despite his high-strung views as to the dignity of the holy people, resists in the most strenuous manner every attempt to call in question, on this ground, the sole right of the priests to hold intercourse with God. Plainly even A must still have known of the old view as to the priestly rights of all. This is sufficiently proved by his deliberate refutation of it.[6] But the more emphasis was laid on the transcendental character of God and the non-consecration of nature, the more necessary it appeared that

[1] Cf. the sketch of the pre-Solomonic epoch. [2] Cf. Ezek. xxii. 26 f.

[3] Deut. xvii. 8, 12, xix. 17 ff., xx. 2; Jer. xviii. 18; Ezek. vii. 26, xxii. 26, xliv. 23, 24; Hag. ii. 12; Lam. iv. 16 (i. 4, iv. 13); 2 Chron. xvii. 7 ff., xix. 5 ff. (Wellhausen would regard all this as a mere echo of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, since it is not mentioned in 1 Kings xxii.).

[4] We already find, in Jer. xviii. 18; Ezek. vii. 26,—that is, after the publication of Deuteronomy,—that the chief duty of the *priest* is to know *the law*, while people go to the *elders* for *counsel* and to the *prophets* for *word* and *vision*.

[5] Ex. xix. 6. [6] Num. xvi. 3.

all acts implying immediate contact with the divine should be restricted to persons specially "consecrated."

The first and lowest expression of this need is exemplified in the servants who were gifted to the sanctuary, and had to consecrate to it the whole labour of their life. Accordingly we find in A so-called "gifted ones" (Nethunim or Nethinim), who had to do the menial work connected with public worship; properly speaking, they were only the servants of the Levites, though placed in a class by themselves.[1] Originally, it is clear, they were nothing else than temple-slaves, foreign captives put into posts implying, not privilege, but privation. But Ezekiel puts in their place the Levites, who had shown themselves unworthy of the priesthood;[2] and according to Josh. ix. 21 ff. they are at least heathens who had voluntarily submitted to Israel. Side by side with these there were also, from the days of antiquity, serving women,[3] probably to assist in the less important parts of sacrificial work, and perhaps also to lead the choral dances at feasts. Here the connection with God is still something quite external, simply one of possession, which is, indeed, the fundamental conception of consecration to God.

This thought receives a somewhat higher expression in the consecration of the *tribe of Levi as distinguished, since Ezekiel, and especially since A, from the priesthood proper.* A knows nothing of them as priests. They do not appear in the sanctuary till long after the priests are at work there, and not as Aaron's kinsmen, but as the "first-fruits" of Israel.

[1] Num. viii. 19; cf. Ezra ii. 43, 58; Neh. vii. 46, 60, xi. 3.

[2] Ezek. xliv. 9 ff.

[3] Ex. xxxviii. 8; cf. 1 Chron. xxv. 5, the daughters of Heman (?). It is quite wrong to deny that the reference here is to women in constant employment. They are called צבאות. Their mirrors are taken to ornament the sacred water-basin. They are mentioned as early as 1 Sam. ii. 22. Among the Greeks, too, not only were Hierodouloi in the immoral sense of the term gifted to the temple of the nature-goddess, but virgins were also consecrated to that divinity (Schömann, 210. As to the sacred mirrors of these women, cf. 205).

They are mere servants. They are forbidden to touch sacred objects till the priests have put a covering over them. Otherwise the holiness of God's presence would slay them also.[1] Consequently the determining thought is that of property and service. They, too, are "gifted to God,"[2] and have to serve the regular priest.[3] It is in room of the first-born of the people, who should belong wholly to God, that they and their possessions are set apart for God.[4] But they stand in a still closer relation to God; in the holy nation they are the holy tribe. They alone are to touch the sacred vessels, lest wrath come upon Israel.[5] They are consecrated, presented by the laying on, as it were, of the hands of the community, as representatives of that community's own relation to God, and thus they are offered to Him as a sacrifice.[6] Only while in the flower of their age are they to engage in sacred work.[7] They are maintained by the sacred gifts which are presented to God.[8] Hence their office is represented also as a privilege.[9]

Perfect consecration belongs, according to the theory of A, only to the priesthood proper, to "Aaron and his sons,"[10] "the anointed priests."[11] The etymological meaning of the word Kohen, which is the technical term for priest,[12] is matter of dispute. If it is connected with כּוּן,[13] one has to choose between the meaning of "setting oneself up," *i.e.* taking

[1] Num. iv. 15 ff. [2] Num. xviii. 2.

[3] Num. iii. 9 (נתנים).

[4] Num. iii. 12 ff., 41, 45, viii. 11–17. As Tenufah, Num. viii. 21; Ex. xiii. 15.

[5] Num. i. 47–54, ii. 17, viii. 19. [6] Num. viii. 5–21.

[7] Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, 50, viii. 26.

[8] Num. xviii. 21 ff. Of course the ideal picture in A, according to which Levi, scattered throughout Israel, was to dwell in his forty-eight cities without work or care, is in most significant contrast to the actual history.

[9] Num. xvi. 9; Deut. xxxiii. 8.

[10] This expression in A; cf. also Num. iii. 10, 38, iv. 15, 19, 20, xvii. 5, xviii. 1.

[11] Num. iii. 3. [12] כהן.

[13] To derive it from the frequently-used denominative כהן, to be brilliant, distinguished, reverses the course which language takes. כהן, כהל, מהר, cf. בן, בול, מור.

a particular position, and that of "setting up," *i.e.* preparing. The first meaning might be supported by those passages in which, as is thought by many, the word is applied to a mere court official.[1] But, in my opinion, the form of the word, which points to an active signification, is conclusively in favour of the second. But, granted that the word itself is obscure, it would still be easy to determine in what sense A used it. The idea of "service" lies in the functions of the priests, and in the word "servant," which is applied to priestly persons.[2] And the privilege of "drawing nigh unto God" is represented as the special right of the priesthood.[3] These two things, the performing of service at the temple and the coming near to God, are also met with in Ezekiel's idea of the priest.[4] Accordingly, since the time of A the priests are regarded as at once the servants of the sanctuary, and the persons through whom the people fulfils its mission and enjoys its ideal privilege of drawing near unto God and presenting offerings to Him. Thus they form a living bond of connection between God and Israel which falls short of the holiness of its ideal. They are supported by God as His servants, but in accordance with definite laws, the wilful transgression of which is followed by punishment;[5] they are consecrated by a special ceremony and presented to God, and the general tenor, at

[1] 2 Sam. viii. 18, xx. 26; 1 Kings iv. 5; cf. 1 Chron. xviii. 17. In these passages I see no reason for giving up the meaning "priest." And even if that had to be done, the wider meaning might very well be derived from the idea of priest and applied to the duties of a courtier, just as in Arabic the word has acquired the additional idea of soothsayer. The use of the denominative כהן, *e.g.* in B. J. lxi. 10, is due to the splendid official dress of the priest. The derivation from "communicating the ways of God," "soothsaying," is highly improbable. (Kuenen, *Hibbert Lect.* p. 81. Land.)

[2] 1 Sam. ii. 11, 18, iii. 1. Samuel wears the dress of a priest, as a משרת; but he is distinguished by it from the priests proper. On the other hand, Joel i. 13 uses כהנים as interchangeable with משרתי מזבח; cf. Ex. xxix. 30, xxx. 20, xxxv. 19, xxxix. 1, 41.

[3] Num. iv. 19, 20, xvi. 5.

[4] Ezek. xl. 45 ff., xlii. 13, xlvi. 19 ff.

[5] Cf. Josh. xiii. 14, 33, xviii. 7. The regulations referred to are found in Num. xviii. 8–28; Lev. vi. 7, vii. 8, 30; Ex. xxix. 26, 28; cf. Num. vi. 19 f., xxxi. 28. It is very interesting to note how these incomes rise from

any rate of their outward, if not of their moral life, had to be in keeping with the character of their office. We shall, however, deal better with all these matters in connection with the religious picture of the high priest.[1]

3. The priests are consecrated with sin-offerings and acts of purification, so as to represent a state of perfect holiness. They have to be, not merely "purified" like the Levites, but "consecrated."[2] They are then invested with the rights of their office. Of the ram, which is for this reason called the "installation ram,"[3] that part which belongs to the priest as the servant of God, is put into their hand, in order that, after offering it to God, they may, as it were, receive it back from Him. This is here called "filling the hand,"[4] a phrase which originally just meant payment for priestly service.[5] Then the president of the priesthood has his head anointed with holy oil, the usual symbol of the consecrating and healing power of the Spirit. Hence he is specially called "the anointed priest;"[6] sometimes, too, the priest who is greater than his brethren,[7] or the high priest.[8]

The priests also receive a sacred dress as the outward mark of their office. The ordinary dress of a priest is meant to betoken purity.[9] But that of the high priest

Deut. xii. 7–18, xviii. 3, to Lev. vii., Num. xv., xviii. Perhaps by that time the temple-gifts had really become taxes levied for behoof of the priests. Wellh. 160.

[1] Naturally the head of the priesthood at the national sanctuary always had a position of influence, as is clear from the story of Eli, the change made in the priesthood by Solomon, and the success of Jehoiada; 1 Sam. i. 9, 12; 1 Kings ii. 35; 2 Kings xi. 4, 17, xii. 2. But the high priest, as described in "the Law," is a personage not to be thought of as possible before the Exile. Whether "the second priest," כהן המשנה, was merely a vicar or a temple official with special duties, is a matter with which Biblical theology has no concern. (2 Kings xxiii. 4, xxv. 18; Jer. lii. 24.)

[2] Ex. xxviii. 41, xxix. 1 ff. (cf. Num. viii. 6, טהר).

[3] Ex. xxix. 22, 31; Lev. iv. 35, viii. 22 (31, 33).

[4] Ex. xxix. 9; Lev. ix. 17, xvi. 32; Num. iii. 3.

[5] Judg. xvii. 5, 12; cf. also outside the law, 1 Kings xii. 31, xiii. 33.

[6] Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16; Ex. xxix. 7; Lev. viii. 22, xxi. 10.

[7] Lev. xxi. 10.

[8] Num. xxxv. 28, הכהן הגדול.

[9] Ex. xxviii. 39, 40, xxxix. 27 (Byssus).

has, as it were, to indicate that the covenant-God is revealing Himself in royal splendour as the God of light, and that to His people, who appear before Him by their representative, the God of Israel is graciously vouchsafing counsel and help. Hence the high priest's robe glitters with gold, the sign of royal dignity, and with dazzling colours, symbolical of the God of light.[1] Hence on the ephod covering his shoulders there are two memorial onyx stones, with the names of the tribes of Israel on them, and these Aaron wears before God by way of remembrance.[2] Hence on the breastplate which covers the ephod, there gleam, engraved on four rows of different jewels, the names of these twelve tribes, worn also as a memorial before God.[3] Hence his brow is encircled with a golden band, fastened to the front of his turban, and bearing the inscription, "Holy to Jehovah."[4] Hence there lie in the pocket of his cape the Urim and the Thummim, means or symbols of illumination, by the use of which he can communicate to his inquiring people the divine will.[5] Finally, as the symbol of vital force, of undesecrated nature, there rests on his head a lily-shaped head-dress, which may be compared with the unshorn locks of a Nazirite.[6]

The priest must be without blemish.[7] No one whose "human form divine" is either maimed or marred may serve at the altar of Jehovah. And, while he is on official duty, everything distracting or exciting is to be kept away from him,[8] as well as everything which would, even in the case of an ordinary Israelite, interrupt communion with God. Above all, he must not defile himself by touching a dead body. Even an ordinary priest must not attend a funeral,

[1] Ex. xxviii. 4–9, 31, 36, xxxix. 2 ff., 22 ff.
[2] Ex. xxviii. 9–12.
[3] Ex. xxviii. 17–29.
[4] Ex. xxviii. 36 ff.; Lev. viii. 9.
[5] חשן המשפט, Ex. xxviii. 29; Lev. viii. 8. Aaron bears "the judgment" of the children of Israel constantly on his heart before God.
[6] Ex. xxxix. 30 f.
[7] Lev. xxi. 16 ff., xxii. 4 ff.; cf. Hermann, 209.
[8] Lev. x. 9.

except in cases of emergency, when he is the only male person within reach who can help.[1] In no case can the high priest attend.[2] The high priest may not approach a woman to whom any dishonour attaches.[3]

Thus, according to A, the priesthood represents the people as ideal, devoted to God. It is the official representative of the people, as that people appears to the eye of God, and as it is according to its vocation. On this official position depends the right of the priests to draw nigh unto God, to appear before Him, on every occasion, with the requests of the people, and to perform the sacred acts which God requires of His people; in other words, to serve the individual members of the nation as mediators, bring them in to God, like those at court, "who see the face of the king." This right of theirs does not depend on their personal sinlessness, but rather, just because it rests on office, on everything connected with their official appearance being agreeable to God. Hence the importance of avoiding every outward impurity; hence the symbolical dress, the freedom from physical blemishes, etc.[4] This right they exercise, not for themselves, but as representatives of the people. The priest is not, like the prophet, efficient in consequence of personal worth,[5] but in virtue of his office, that is, only so long as he acts in an official capacity. Hence, to dishonour this sacred office is to render the whole nation guilty.[6] But where everything is right, the priesthood can represent the people before God, expiate their guilt by prayer and sacrifice, and secure for them communion with God, and the blessings resulting therefrom. Hence the high priest blesses the congregation in the name of the Most High.[7] Hence he bears on his shoulder and on his heart, that is, patiently and lovingly, the name of the people before the Lord, in order that

[1] Lev. xxi. 2 ff. [2] Lev. xxi. 11.
[3] Lev. xxi. 7 ff.; Ezek. xliv. 22. [4] Ex. xxviii. 43, cf. xxxix.
[5] So Moses, Ex. xxxii. 10 f., 32; Num. xiv. 13 ff.; Lev. viii. 15, 19, 28.
[6] Lev. iv. 3. [7] Num. vi. 22–27; Lev. ix. 22.

God, looking at Israel through him, the representative of the ideal Israel, may remember them in love. And he wears on the golden band round his brow the motto, "Holy to Jehovah," and thus Aaron bears the iniquity of the holy things which the children of Israel have sanctified, as regards all their holy gifts;[1] that is to say, his complete surrender to God is to be compensation for whatever duties towards God the actual Israel has unwittingly failed to perform. That the people may not be destroyed as unholy should it come near unto God, the priests and the Levites must bear the iniquity of what is consecrated, the iniquity of their priesthood;[2] in other words, they are in their official holiness to take on themselves the danger which contact with the Divine brings on man. Accordingly, the flesh of the sin-offering is given to the priests, on the understanding that they eat it, in order "to bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them."[3] By appropriating the flesh of the sin-offering, by means of which the most sacred act of expiation is performed, the priesthood, taking upon itself, in its official holiness, the danger of contact with what is sacred, has to bring the act of atonement to a worthy conclusion.

The high priest thus acts the part of a substitute. On him is laid what would annihilate the people; in virtue of his sacred office he bears it unharmed. In him God sees His people holy and acceptable, as the object of His favour and His purposes of mercy. The gifts which he presents the God of Israel can accept, and allow to effect what they are meant to effect, because presented to Him by the holy hands of a servant who has always free access to Him. Hence Aaron, as the representative of reconciliation with God, can withstand and mitigate even the judgments of divine wrath. He stands

[1] Ex. xxviii. 38, xxxix. 30. [2] Num. xviii. 1, 23.

[3] Lev. x. 17. The emphasis which is here laid on the eating of the flesh of the sin-offering, shows how closely connected the duties of the priesthood were seen to be with this appropriation of what was most holy and therefore dangerous.

there with the sacred means of atonement between the living and the dead, and stays the plague.[1] And in all matters connected with the ordinances of public worship, the chief personage is the high priest. When a high priest dies, the exile of those who have fled to the cities of refuge is at an end. The old life is, as it were, blotted out; a new life begins.[2] Thus the priesthood stands before the eyes of A as a perpetual statute.[3]

2. *The Holy Place.*

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1. The sanctuary, which is described in A as the original

[1] Num. xvi. 46 ff., xvii. 13.
[2] Num. xxxv. 25, 28; Josh. xx. 6.
[3] Ex. xxix. 9, xl. 15.

place of worship, constructed in accordance with the direct orders of God, is like the ideal temple of Ezekiel, a product of religious thought. Its historical basis is the temple of Solomon. The great king built a splendid sanctuary, not essentially different from those which the neighbouring peoples dedicated to their gods. But this temple was early considered a sanctuary of quite a peculiar character. And when A idealised it into his picture of the tabernacle, he intended thereby to give perfect expression to the divine ideal of the place of worship.

From early times, indeed ever since the days of Philo and Josephus, very different explanations have been given of the tabernacle.[1] These old Jewish writers held, although not to the exclusion of other meanings, that this building represented the world, that is, both the *ideal* and the *real* world, above which God sits enthroned as Benefactor and Judge. This thought, after being repeated by many of the Church fathers, has been lately developed by Bähr in a very skilful fashion, his theory being, that the tabernacle represents the world as a revelation of God. Other interpretations are also very numerous. It is true that the direct reference to Christ has not of late been reasserted. Still, this may be included in the explanation that the tent is man as a microcosm; an explanation hinted at by Philo, openly asserted by Luther, and recently expounded with rather curious learning by Friedrich. The Dutch School of Typology makes the tabernacle a type of the Commonwealth, or Church of Christ. Neumann and Keil see in it the stages by which God and man draw near each other; Lisco, the picture of a future indwelling of God in humanity; Kurtz, the place where God dwells in order to sanctify His people.

The last-mentioned view, now the most widely adopted,

[1] For the fuller history of its interpretation, cf. in Winer, Riggenbach (3), Bähr, and in Diestel's *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche*, 1869, p. 753 f.

seems to me the only tenable one. Not a word in the description of the tabernacle ever indicates that other secrets are lying hidden there. And it was scarcely in keeping with Israel's mode of thought to allegorise the universe after the manner of a nature-religion, far less the human body or a secret in the womb of the future. The tabernacle is simply a dwelling-place of God formed on the model of a shepherd's tent.[1] Hence it is called with special emphasis "the dwelling."[2] And since the dwelling of God is synonymous with His revealing Himself, it is therefore called "the tent of witness,"[3] where God makes communications by oracle, or in general reveals Himself to this people as the God of their salvation. Its shape is copied from the ordinary plan of a nomad's tent. Surrounded by an open uncovered court, where any one may stand, a shepherd's tent, lighted, not by the sun, but by a lamp, has first a tolerably large apartment in which are kept various household articles, and into which the master's friends are freely admitted; then a smaller apartment, which is the home sanctum, and into which no stranger dare enter. Here, too, the arrangement is quite similar, and the various articles of furniture correspond exactly with the prototype.

The Holy of Holies[4] corresponds to the apartment in the tent into which no one is admitted. Here the measurements are perfect—the number ten in length, breadth, and height expressing the most perfect shape of room.[5] In this

[1] The historian got this idea from the old tradition regarding the tent, "the curtains," in which the ark of Jehovah dwelt. Ex. xxxiii. 7; 2 Sam. vii. 6.

[2] המשכן, Ex. xxxvi. 8, 13, 14, xxxviii. 21, xxxix. 33, xl. 17, 34; Lev. viii. 10, etc. Combined with other words, Num. ix. 15; Ex. xxxix. 32, 40, xl. 2.

[3] משכן העדות, Ex. xxv. 22, xxxviii. 21; Num. i. 53; אהל העדות, Num. ix. 15, xvii. 22. The name אהל מועד must unquestionably mean, according to A, the tent in which God meets with His people, Ex. xxv. 22, xxix. 42, xxx. 6; Num. xvii. 19.

[4] קדש הקדשים, Ex. xxvi. 33. (In the temple, דביר, 1 Kings vi. 23.)

[5] In the temple, 20, 20, 20, 1 Kings v. 2, 16. So also according to Ezek. xl. 47, xli. 5. In the tabernacle, Ex. xxvi. 2, 8, xxvii. 9 f., the proportions are

room there is always a dim religious light, in keeping with the mystery of the divine, and with the solemn feeling that God is near. Here everything is overlaid with gold, the symbol of regal splendour. The wall is brightly coloured and splendidly ornamented with parti-coloured tapestry, betokening the effulgent brightness of the God of light, whose rays gleam with the colours of the rainbow. This splendour can only be symbolical. For no eye may see it. Here are the mysterious figures of the cherubim, indicating God's presence and proclaiming His inaccessible glory. Only once a year may God's holiest and most trusted servant, the high priest, enter this place; and even he not without "the blood of sprinkling," enveloped in a cloud of incense, heralded by the tinkling of the bells on his robe,[1] and protected by his sacred garb of office, lest he feel the consuming glory of the Most High. For here is God's proper dwelling, where He has settled among His people.[2] He dwells in the midst of Israel.[3] Certainly it is not in a material way, as the primitive ages may have thought. Already the Deuteronomic narrator guards against the idea of confining God within a house,[4] and still less, of course, is there any such idea in A.

But the glory of God, that is, the revelation of his holy

the most ideal. The mystic significance of numbers is, indeed, in its full development, a favourite amusement of later times. But to consider certain numerical relations as significant and sacred is quite in accordance even with the spirit of antiquity. Thus the number 7 is already found in the Pentateuch in B, and also 40 and 400. The number 12, as the number expressing the sacred relations of peoples, is very ancient (Gen. xxv. 16, xxxv. 23 ff. etc.). It is probably quite right to consider "3," the first indivisible number, as the number for divinity; 4, for the universe; $3 + 4 = 7$ = the divine in the earthly; 3×4, the earthly according to divine measure; 10, the complete number; 5, imperfect development. (On the symbolism of numbers among the Greeks, cf. Welcker, i. 52 f.)

[1] Ex. xxviii. 35.

[2] Thus A, Ex. xl. 34, 35, distinguishes between the sanctuary as a whole and the dwelling which is filled with the glory of God.

[3] Ex. xxv. 8, xxix. 43 ff., xl. 34 ff. (1 Kings viii. 10 ff., 29 ff.). Besides, the primitive holiness of the *north side* is indicated by several features, Lev. i. 11, vi. 25, vii. 2; cf. Judg. v. 4 ff.; Ezek. i. 4; Isa. xiv. 14.

[4] 1 Kings viii. 27.

presence, is thought of as filling the Holy of Holies.[1] Here Israel has to think of Jehovah as present, and to seek Him as his covenant God. But the foundation on which this presence of God in Israel rests is the covenant. Hence, the most essential article is the ark, containing the covenant-contract. This is the foundation on which alone God's presence in Israel is justified. No doubt, before the time of Solomon the sacred ark was often far away from the sanctuary, at other places,[2] especially in the camp of Israel,[3] and even captured by the enemy.[4] It was always regarded as the real palladium; and as superstition gathered around it, it became quite synonymous with the presence of God.[5] Wherever it was, people thought they "stood before Jehovah."[6] They prayed before it.[7] But for A this ancient sacred object is the pledge of God's presence, simply because it has within it the covenant-contract and other very old memorials of a sacred kind. It stands immovable in the Holy of Holies. From its golden covering God speaks from between the cherubim.[8] It was formerly called the ark of testimony,[9] probably because the oracle of God was connected with it. But in A it is "the ark of the covenant" in which is preserved "the covenant of Jehovah."[10] God's presence in Israel is not something natural, something connected with some attribute of a place, but a moral fact, conditioned by God's covenant grace offered

[1] Ex. xl. 34 ff.; 1 Kings viii. 10 f.; Ezek. x. 3 ff.

[2] Judg. xx. 18, 26, xxi. 2; 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2, vi. 12; 2 Sam. vi. 2, 3.

[3] 1 Sam. iv. 3 ff. (xiv. 18); 2 Sam. xi. 11 (xv. 24 ff.).

[4] 1 Sam. iv. 11, v. 1 ff. (cf. 2 Sam. v. 21, where the Philistines leave their idols on the field of battle).

[5] 1 Sam. iv. 3, 7, 13, 18, 19, 21, 22; on the other hand, Jer. iii. 16 ff.

[6] Josh. xviii. 10, xix. 51, xxi. 1, xxii. 9, 12; Judg. x. 10, xx. 1, xxi. 1.

[7] Josh. vii. 6 (A).

[8] Num. vii. 89.

[9] ארון העדות, Ex. xxxix. 35, xl. 20 f.; Josh. iv. 16.

[10] ארון ברית יהוה, Num. x. 33, xiv. 44; Josh. iii. 3, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, 17, iv. 9, 18, vi. 6, viii. 33; 1 Sam. iv. 3, 4. Simply ארון יהוה, Josh. iii. 13 (2 Sam. vi. 2, vii. 2); cf. 1 Kings viii. 9, 21 (the ark in which was the covenant of Jehovah).

to this people for its free appropriation.[1] The "law" is God's real presence in Israel.

But the real presence of God in Israel is connected with the throne above the ark. Over the ark, though probably not as an ordinary lid, but rather as an ornament placed upon it, is the kapporeth,[2] "the covering." According to the view taken by A, the name is to be explained from the purpose of atonement as "*place of atonement*," a view fully justified by the verb כִּפֶּר. For A's general mode of thought, the meaning *covering* of the sacred ark, derived from the first signification of the verb "to cover," is too jejune. Here under the guardianship of the cherubim[3] God dwells; here He speaks and reveals Himself. These show that the holy dwelling-place of God is here, and they veil the divine glory from the vulgar eye.[4] Hence the old name of God, "He who sits upon the cherubim," gets a new shade of meaning.[5] It now implies that He dwells in the thick darkness underneath their wings.[6] Here is the place where the penitent may find God. Here the atoning blood is brought into the very presence of God by the most solemn atonement in Israel.[7]

Separated from this Holy of Holies by a costly curtain, the veil of witness,[8] the Holy Place[9] corresponds to the larger apartment of the tent, in which daily life goes on, and to which also the intimate friends of the master have access. Here, too, the idea of grandeur is still kept well in view, although no longer to the same extent as in the Holy of Holies. Here the proportions are more irregular. It is

[1] Ex. xxv. 10, 16, 21, xxvi. 33, xxxvii. 1 ff., xxxix. 35, xl. 3 ff., 20 ff.

[2] הכפרת, Sept. ἱλαστήριον, Ex. xxv. 17, 20 ff., xxxvii. 6 f., xxxix. 35; Vulg. *propitiatorium*; Luther, *Gnadenstuhl*=mercy-seat.

[3] The simple consideration that elsewhere the ark never has cherubim, and that the two great cherubim of the temple would, in fact, have covered the two other cherubim, if these had been fastened on the kapporeth, ought to leave no doubt as to the relation of the two sanctuaries.

[4] Lev. xvi. 2 ff.

[5] יושב הכרבים, 1 Sam. iv. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2 (1 Kings viii. 16).

[6] 1 Kings viii. 12.

[7] Lev. xvi.

[8] פרכת, Ex. xxvi. 31; פרכת העדות, Lev. xxiv. 3.

[9] הקדש, Ex. xxvi. 33.

merely a question of convenient and sufficient accommodation.[1] Nevertheless this is the real place of public worship. Here stands the table of Jehovah with its twelve loaves, which, according to ancient custom, are presented to Him as "bread of the face,"[2] *i.e.* bread placed before Him, appropriated to Him, or as "bread of fragrance," *i.e.* sacrificial bread.[3] From the gifts of nature which God bestows upon them, the twelve tribes, according to their sacred number, offer one consecrated loaf each, of course as food, not for God, but for His servants.[4] These loaves, with the drink-offering of wine, which, though not mentioned, is certainly presupposed,[5] form, as it were, a continual sacrifice. Owing to the incense which lies upon them, they are, in fact, "an offering by fire."[6] Thus they stand as a gift to God from His people of the products of nature, symbolically representing His "nourishment by fire," but in no sense "representing the people as a pure dough of life" (Hävernick). They are a part of the furnishing of the chamber, which would not be complete without a dining-table.

Here is the sacred golden candlestick for lighting the chamber, from which the sunlight was quite shut out.[7] It is hard to say if this, too, represents some religious idea, and if so, what? It is a pleasing idea that it may symbolise the holy people as it stands in the full sunlight of God's favour, drinking in His Spirit. But it is simpler and equally pleasing to think of the illumination afforded by the divine revelation,—of the law, as the everlasting light of Israel. Certainly the candlestick is the light of God's house, and it has seven

[1] 10, 10, 20,—20, 20, 40, 1 Kings vi. 16 (so in Ezekiel).

[2] לחם פנים, and also לחם הפנים, shew-bread, Ex. xxv. 30, xxxv. 13; cf. 1 Sam. xxi, 4 ff.

[3] לחם לאזכרה, Lev. xxiv. 7 (bread of remembrance?).

[4] Lev. xxiv. 9; 1 Sam. xxi. 5–7.

[5] Ex. xxv. 29, xxxvii. 16; Num. iv. 7 (Kurtz).

[6] Lev. xxiv. 7 ff.

[7] נר תמיד, Lev. xxiv. 2, to be kept as "an everlasting statute," Ex. xxvii. 21 (Ex. xxv. 31-37, מנרת זהב), xxvi. 35, xxxvii. 17, xxxix. 37; Num. viii. 1 ff. According to 1 Sam. iii. 3, we must think of lamps which were kept burning only during the night. In the temple there were ten lamps, 1 Kings vii. 49.

arms, seven being the sacred number, which in Zechariah is multiplied by itself.[1] Here stands the golden altar of incense, from which the incense is wafted into the Holy of Holies; so that it, too, might quite well be regarded as a piece of furniture in somewhat close connection with this room.[2] The incense, which certainly could only be the sacred kind, the use of which for any secular purpose[3] was strictly forbidden, had to float inwards to the presence of God, as a symbol of adoration and thanksgiving offered to Him by Israel. Similar fragrance, we know, filled the palaces of the nobles.

The outer court,[4] or open space in which the people are wont to assemble, runs all round the dwelling-house proper. Its measurements have been determined solely by the object of the building, and have no symbolical meaning.[5] In it are placed the household utensils, which would take up too much room inside, and also the altar of acacia wood overlaid with brass,[6] on which, out of their own meat and drink, the people offer to God "sacrifices by fire," consisting of flesh, baked bread, oil, and wine. The altar, with its horns pointing heavenwards, is, as it were, the home-hearth of God Himself, and affords a safe asylum to refugees.[7] Here, too, are the vessels used for purification and consecration. In a word, the real worship of God, as it concerns the people, is performed here.

[1] Zech. iv. 1 ff.

[2] Owing to Heb. ix. 4, this has become an interesting point. Here, in my opinion, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews certainly had in his mind only the description of the tabernacle according to the Septuagint in Ex. xxx. 1–6, xxxvii. 25, xxxix. 38, xl. 26, where the ἀπέναντι τοῦ καταπετάσματος quite easily allowed of such a meaning. 1 Kings vi. 22.

[3] קטרת הסמים, Ex. xxx. 7, 9, 10 (once a year the blood of atonement was put on its horns too).

[4] חצר המשכן, Ex. xxvii. 9, xxxviii. 9.

[5] Ex. xxvii. 9, 100 cubits south and north, 50 cubits west and east. In Ezekiel, 100 cubits all round.

[6] מזבח העלה, Ex. xxvii. 1, xxxi. 9, xxxviii. 1, xxxix. 39. How this is to be actually carried out in practice is no concern of the narrator.

[7] 1 Kings i. 50, ii. 28; 2 Kings xi. 15. (That the horns of the altar are meant to refer to the ox-image of Jehovah appears to me, in view of the similar custom in Greece and Rome, improbable.)

The tabernacle is thus not a synagogue or place of meeting for the congregation, but a house of God, like the heathen shrines, which, strictly speaking, were simply homes for the deity and his servants. But God dwells there, not as an image, or in a form conditioned by relations to nature, but in virtue of His testimony, of His revealed salvation. Hence the temple is already called "a house for the name of Jehovah;"[1] and the tabernacle is "the place where Jehovah meets with His people."[2] God's presence in Israel is a gracious presence, and therefore depends on the continuance of the covenant. Hence, even at the building of the temple it is said that God will dwell in Israel only if the people keep His statutes and His commandments.[3] God dwells above the ark of the covenant, the foundation-stone of this divine presence.

Individual and national sins, resulting from human weakness, do not destroy the covenant or prevent God from dwelling among His people. In this ideal place the fellowship of God with His people finds permanent expression, although not a single member of the people may feel himself worthy of such fellowship. Hence the place where God is present is also the place of atonement. Here God is to be found when the people come, with the duly prescribed offerings, to entreat His forgiveness. Here is the holy spot where every one can daily get away out of the state of separation from God caused by sin, back into the fellowship which Israel has with God. It is therefore the place of reconciliation. In this holy abode the covenant people has a consecrated spot where every penitent sinner, as well as the people when it seeks for mercy, may find God present and ready to forgive.

Hence, according to the story of the building of the tabernacle, all the materials required for it are given as free-will offerings by the people, as "oblations," and they are conse-

[1] 1 Kings v. 17, 18, viii. 20.
[2] Ex. xxx. 6, xxix. 42 f.; Num. xvii. 19.
[3] 1 Kings vi. 12, 13 (Deut.).

quently looked upon as being in themselves holy, dedicated to God.[1] Hence they afterwards get a special consecration, are anointed with the holy anointing oil, and are thus made "most holy"; so that whoever touches them becomes holy himself, and is henceforth the property of God.[2] Hence it is said that the cloud representing the divine presence covered this house and filled it with the glory of Jehovah;[3] that God took possession of His house, and speaks[4] from it and blesses His people from it. This is beautifully expressed in regard to the temple by the prophetic narrator, when, thinking of how people would turn in prayer toward it, he says, "The eyes of God are open toward this house day and night; God's name is in it to answer prayer;" and when he describes how, in the most different situations in life, the people are to seek here for salvation and reconciliation.[5] Naturally A expresses this in a still clearer and more definite way. Hither, therefore, the people have to bring all their offerings. Indeed, according to the ideal requirement, an animal's life, being the property of God, is not to be taken anywhere else than here, where it may be given back in its blood to its only owner.[6]

Historically, Israel had attached no religious value to the external details of the temple. Solomon got a Tyrian architect to build it, who naturally made use of ornaments and symbols copied from the ordinary sacred buildings of Phœnicia. Hence the pomegranates and the lilies, the two splendid pillars before the temple, the brazen sea

[1] Ex. xxv. 1 ff., תרומה; cf. Num. vii. 3 ff.

[2] Ex. xxx. 25 ff., xl. 9 ff.; Num. vii. 1; cf. Ex. xxix. 43.

[3] Ex. xl. 34 f.; cf. 1 Kings viii. 10, 11. Ezekiel transfers this to his hope for the future, xliii. 4 ff.

[4] Lev. i. 1, etc.

[5] 1 Kings viii. 24, 31 f., 38, 44, 48, ix. 3.

[6] Lev. xvii. 3 f., 8 ff. In Israel, as among other ancient peoples, an act of sacrifice was originally connected with the killing of every animal. But that takes for granted that nothing was known as to one place only being holy. Of course, a nation with a single sanctuary could not keep up any such custom. Hence Deut. xii. 15 logically abolishes it. But A, for whom questions about the practical carrying out of a thing never stand in the way of a principle, keeps up the old demand, in spite of there being only one Holy Place.

resting on twelve oxen, and the bases on which the lavers rested. The two pillars before the house, Boaz and Jachin, are clearly symbols taken from the Asiatic nature-religion. Indeed, it is quite possible that the outlandish magnificence of this temple, compared with the old simplicity of divine worship, was displeasing and offensive to the patriotic circles in ancient Israel. But ere long every part of it, once it was there, was worshipped with growing punctiliousness. The introduction of an altar made after a foreign pattern was represented as an act of impiety.[1] Just as A traces back every separate part of the tabernacle to a direct divine order, so the chronicler also represents the temple of Solomon as built according to a plan given by God.[2]

3. *Sacred Seasons.*

Literature. — H. Ewald, "De feriarum hebræarum origine et ratione" (*Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iii. 410–441), cf. *Alterthümer*, p. 447 ff.; *Jahrb. d. bibl. Wiss.* iv. 131 f., viii. 223, ix. 257 f.; *Götting. gel. Anz.* 1835, 2025 f.; 1836, 678 f. Hupfeld, "De primitiva et vera festorum apud Hebræos ratione ex legum mosaicarum varietate eruenda," part 1, *Osterprogramm*, 1852; part 2, also, "Commentatio de anni sabbatici et jobileï ratione," *Osterprogramm*, 1858; "Appendix quo festorum memoriæ apud rerum hebraïcarum scriptores cum legibus mosaïcis collatæ examinantur," *Osterprogramm*, 1865. Gramberg, vol. i. chap. iv. F. Baur, "Ueber die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Passahfestes und des Beschneidungsritus" (*Tübinger Zeitschrift*, 1832, i. 40 – 124); "Der hebräische Sabbath und die Nationalfeste des mosaischen Cultus" (*l.c.* 1832, iii. 123–192). J. F. L. George, *Die älteren jüdischen Feste mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung des Pentateuch*, Berlin

[1] 2 Kings xvi. 16. Still the chief priest himself has a hand in it.
[2] Ex. xxv. 9, 40; cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 19.

1835. Hitzig, *Ostern und Pfingsten*, 1838 (cf. 1837, *Neue Kirchenzeitung*). Oehler, "Feste der alten Hebräer, Sabbath, Sabbath- und Jobel-jahr" (in the articles in Herzog's *Real-encyclopädie*, 2nd ed., Delitzsch u. Orelli). Joh. Bachmann, *Die Festgesetze des Pentateuch auf's Neue kritisch untersucht*, Berlin 1858. Wilhelm Schultz, "Die innere Bedeutung der alttestamentlichen Feste" (*Deutsche Zeitschr. für chr. Wiss. und chr. Leben*, 1857, 23–27, 28–30). Redslob, *Die biblischen Angaben über Stiftung und Grund der Passahfeier*, 1856. J. Meyer, *De festis Hebræorum*, 1724, 4. Saalschütz, *Mosaisches Recht*, i. 385 ff. H. Oort, "De groete Verzoendag" (*Theol. Tijdschr.* 1876, 142).

1. A had also a decisive influence on the festivals of the religion of Israel, although here he found earlier laws which his system did not abrogate in every detail. Here we have, of course, to leave quite out of view the older national festivals, which were regulated solely by custom, and to take into account the "Thorah" only. Its oldest sections are found in Ex. xxiii. 14 ff., and these lie at the foundation of the tradition as now given in C. They quite agree with those in xxxiv. 18 ff., and whatever else can be taken from the narratives of C and B. In Deut. xvi. 1–18, it is simply on the basis of these laws that the three principal feasts are instituted at which Israel has to appear with gifts before God. Deuteronomy knows nothing of the more detailed ritual of the Passover, or of the day of atonement, or of any historical reference in the feast of Tabernacles. Nevertheless, even here the Sabbath is the foundation of everything, and the spring festival has already, in addition to its natural character, a special reference to God's mighty act of deliverance by the hand of Moses. A next brought the feast of Tabernacles into connection with Israel's sojourn in the wilderness,[1] which does not, however, agree very well with the "joyous" dwelling in booths built in the newly-cleared

[1] Lev. xxiii. 43.

gardens. Nowhere in the Old Testament has the feast of Pentecost a historical significance.[1]

2. According to A, the main idea of a sacred season is, that the ordinary arrangements of life, depending as they do on the changing seasons, must be brought within the sphere of religion,—that Israel is leading a life which has a constant reference to the doings of God. The whole time of this people belongs to its God, and has to be given back to Him, according to His statutes, by the dedication to Him of the holy seasons. Resting on the sacred number seven, and going back in its original conception to the theory of creation, the cycle of festivals in A embraces every important occasion in this people's life, whether natural or historical, which indicates its special relationship to God. In these feasts every state of feeling, from pure enjoyment of God's gifts in the good land of its inheritance to sorrowful repentance and humble submission to His holy severity and pardoning love, finds full and clear expression. And at all these feasts the holy people has to gather round its divine King with offerings of reverence and love, and to assure Him of its devotion and loyalty. The feasts are, on the one hand, "set times,"[2] fixed points marking the flight of time, landmarks of eternal thoughts in the stream of passing phenomena. On the other hand, the three great annual festivals are "holidays,"[3] days of religious joy, when the multitude of those who keep holiday gather exultantly round the throne of their God.

The cycle of festivals is based on the hallowing of the seventh day, the Sabbath. Israel's original day of rest, which is already mentioned in the fundamental law,[4] and which Deuteronomy bases on the grateful kindness of the redeemed people to the oppressed and hard-working classes of society,[5]

[1] The rabbis connect it with the festival in commemoration of the giving of the law.

[2] מועד, Gen. i. 14. [3] חג.

[4] Amos viii. 5, 6; 2 Kings iv. 23; Deut. v. 12; Ex. xx. 8 f.

[5] Deut. v. 15.

A has worked out in the sense of the statute, and the whole post-exilic period has added to its sanctity.[1] A ascribes the special dignity of this day to the work of the Creator Himself, because after His work, God rejoiced on this day in the beauty of His world, and experienced the happy rest of the Master whose work is finished.[2] He accordingly makes the order of nature which follows the history of the divine work of creation, with its sacred alternation of labour and rest as exemplified by God, find expression in the Sabbath, thus beautifully connecting the natural character of the day with the desire to base it on the sacred history. The essential characteristic of this day, according to A, is perfect rest; while it originally meant "recreation," "natural enjoyment."[3] Such perfect rest, however, is not insisted on at the regular feasts.[4] Sabbath labour is absolutely forbidden. This day belongs to God, and to withhold any part of it from Him by using it for the ordinary duties of daily life, is impious sacrilege. Hence Sabbath-breaking is punished with death.[5] The allegorisers lay emphasis on the number seven, as the virgin number, the indivisible that divides everything, the image of the creative word of God.[6]

Founded directly on the idea of the Sabbath, there is a still grander consecration of time to God in the Sabbath year[7] and

[1] Jer. xvii. 21; Ezek. xx. 16, xxii. 26; B. J. lvi. 2, lviii. 13; 2 Kings xi. 9, etc.

[2] Gen. ii. 1 f.; Ex. xx. 10, 11, xxxi. 13–17, xxxiv. 21.

[3] Hos. ii. 13; cf. ix. 5.

[4] According to Num. xxix. 7, only on the day of atonement. Elsewhere it is only "hard work" that is forbidden, Lev. xxiii. 7, 8, 21, 25, 35, 36; Num. xxviii. 18, 25, 26; cf. xxix. 1, and that, too, only on the first and the seventh days of the feast. Ex. xii. 16 and Deut. xvi. 8 mean also to forbid all labour on the seventh day of the feast of Unleavened Bread.

[5] Num. xv. 32 ff.; Ex. xxxi. 14 ff.; cf. Ex. xvi. 5 (where the manna ceases on the Sabbath); Ex. xxxv. 3. No fire to be lighted.

[6] Philo, ed. Mg. i. 21, 497, 503, ii. 108, 166, 281.

[7] Lev. xxv. 1 ff., שנת שבתון. Ex. xxiii. 10 deals solely with humane measures, such as setting Hebrew slaves free, and giving a harvest gratis. And it need not be done simultaneously by every owner or with every field. Even, according to Deut. xvii. 1 ff., 12 ff., cf. Jer. xxxiv. 8 ff., nothing more than a

the jubilee year.[1] Every seventh year the fields are neither to be tilled nor reaped. Nature is to be set free, as it were, from the service which mankind exacts from her, and to be left entirely to herself. Only what she voluntarily offers is to be taken, and that not for any selfish purpose. But when seven times seven years have passed, then comes the great year of jubilee, when every change in the divinely-ordered condition of the holy people, brought about by the vicissitudes of social life, will be as if it had never been, when he who has become a bondman will again receive the freedom which is his due as one of God's people, when the inheritance that has passed into the hands of strangers will be once more restored to its rightful owner.[2]

This hallowing of the seventh day, then, with which we may compare the primitive popular custom of keeping holy the first of the month,[3] becomes the basis on which to arrange the cycle of feast days. Accordingly, in the principal feasts, which last seven days,[4] the great days on which the interest of the festival centres are the first and the seventh. In like manner, the first and the seventh months represent the sacred seasons; and in these, new moon and full moon, that is, the first day and the fifteenth, form the important divisions.

The first sacred season is that of the opening year in the first month.[5] The festival laws in Ex. xxiii. and xxxiv., as

release from debt is prescribed, though there may also be a liberation of Hebrew slaves; but even that could not be carried through.

[1] Lev. xxv. 8 ff., יובל, דרור. In Ezekiel the term is probably still applied only to the seventh year, xlvi. 17.

[2] Here also A pays no attention to the practicability of his measure. It could be carried out only when Israel was no longer in his own country, dependent on slave-labour and agriculture, but a nation of traders scattered up and down in foreign lands.

[3] Num. x. 10.

[4] In the feast of Tabernacles, according to Deut. xvi. 13, 15, it is the seventh, according to A the eighth day, so that the festival is being lengthened, Lev. xxiii. 36; Num. xxix. 35; cf. Neh. viii. 18. Similarly, compare 1 Kings viii. 65 f. with 2 Chron. vii. 9.

[5] Abib (from the barley harvest) or Nisan. The civil new year begins, at

well as in Deut. xvi., know only of a single "feast of unleavened bread." In A, on the other hand, this festival is really a double one. The Passover and the feast of Unleavened Bread form a double festival,[1] just as the day of atonement and the feast of Tabernacles do. Even according to A, it is undoubtedly as a direct preparation for the feast of Unleavened Bread that the Passover is celebrated on the evening before the latter feast begins, as the ancient unity of the festival required.[2] But a significant custom[3] suggests to the reader that it really should have been celebrated on the 10th of Nisan, like the day of atonement on the 10th of the seventh month. It is certain that in the Passover a very ancient feast is kept up. The bitter herbs and the blood of the lamb were, apparently, signs of a primitive sacrifice of atonement by which in spring, when everything about the future is still uncertain, the favour of God had to be secured for the harvest. But in A the sacrificial character has quite disappeared.[4] The sacred meal has really become *a sacrament*, a covenant meal at which the members of the holy congregation—recognisable by the

least after the Exile, with the seventh month. According to Ezek. xlv. 18 ff., the first day of the first (seventh ?) month is to be celebrated by purifying the sanctuary by sprinkling the door-posts of the house of God with the blood of an animal slain as a sin-offering.

[1] Ex. xii. 1 ff., 21 ff.; Lev. xxiii. 5 ff.; Num. ix. 3 ff., xxviii. 16; Josh. v. 10.

[2] The Passover may originally have been the feast of the firstlings of the cattle, and not restricted to a particular day (Wellhausen); while the feast of Unleavened Bread betokened the first swing of the sickle. But these points of view have quite given way even in Deuteronomy, not to speak of A, to historical ones.

[3] The choosing of the lamb on the tenth, Ex. xii. 3 f. (Ewald). In my opinion, A wishes to make an exact parallelism between the feast in the seventh month and the feast in the first. Hence the 10th of the first month, as the day for choosing the lamb, is made parallel to the 10th of the seventh month as the day of atonement. Hence the feast of Tabernacles is extended to eight days, so as to be quite equal to the Passover and the mazzoth feast together.

[4] Ex. xii. 27, there is mention only of זבח; and in Num. ix. 7–13 the Passover is put in the general category of קרבן, and 2 Chron. xxx. 16, xxxv. 11 merely show the importance attached to Levitical and priestly help in slaying the Passover lamb. But in Deuteronomy, in addition to eating the Passover, in the sense of A, there is also mention of *festal sacrifices offered during the whole seven days of the feast*, which are called "Paschal," and which could not be eaten with leaven, Deut. xvi. 2 ff.

blood of the lamb on the door-posts—meet together to commemorate the national deliverance, and to remember with thankfulness how the angel of death was once kept away from their consecrated homes, and in what a suggestive fashion the last meal before the deliverance was eaten. In addition, therefore, to its purely memorial character,[1] A considers that the Passover has, at the same time, the significance of a sacrament of which only members of the covenant can partake.[2] The first-born are "redeemed" but are no longer "paschal."[3] There is probably an echo of the original significance of the day in the word itself, which means "sparing,"[4] though not in the special historical sense in which the narrative explains it.[5] Certainly the explanation that it is derived from "the passing of the sun" into the sign of Aries, and that the eating of the lamb has an astrological meaning of that kind, may well be regarded as an antiquated notion, despite the ability with which it has been expounded.[6] But in primitive times the Passover may very probably have required a sterner style of repentance and more painful sacrifices than our present narratives indicate to us.[7]

After the observance of the Passover on the 14th of Nisan, "between sunset and complete darkness,"[8] the feast of

[1] Ex. xii. 42, xiii. 9.

[2] Ex. xii. 43 ff. (Num. ix. 10 ff.).

[3] In Deuteronomy it is said of all the animals killed during the festival, that "the Passover is being killed," xvi. 2.

[4] פסח, cf. Isa. xxxi. 5 (עבר). For this word the passages, 2 Sam. iv. 4, 1 Kings xviii. 21, 26, are important, where the root meaning appears to be "to be bent."

[5] Ex. xii. 12 ff., 23, 29, פסח.

[6] Supported by Herod. ii. 42; Plat. *Repub.* 268; Eurip. *Orestes*, 80; *Electr.* 730 f., Baur, Vatke, Br. Bauer. Besides, Maimonides and Spencer traced back the feast to Egyptian analogies (that the lamb was sacrificed as a protest against its being worshipped by the Egyptians). Baur thinks the ram a symbol of Jupiter Ammon, who opens the year. He thinks there was originally an actual sacrificing of the first-born, a *ver sacrum*. The sprinkling with blood he connects with the Egyptian custom related by Epiphanius, *De Hær.* xix. 3.

[7] Ex. xiii. 15.

[8] בי הערבים, Lev. xxiii. 5; Ex. xii. 6 (42, ליל שמורים).

Unleavened Bread[1] began on the 15th, and continued for seven days, the first and last of which were specially marked by sacred meetings and celebrations.[2] The nature of religious customs makes it self-evident that the absence of leaven is originally due to the unholiness of the process of fermentation, and has only an artificial connection with the hasty meal at the exodus.[3] In the presentation of the first sheaf,[4] we are reminded that this feast was originally in honour of the first beginning of harvest, the barley harvest, from which, too, the month Abib gets its name. The time of the full moon, the 15th, is important, as is proved by the fact that in all the legal and illegal shiftings of the feast, the month was changed, but never the day.[5] But for A it is the feast of deliverance. Here the congregation of Israel, assembled with one heart before God with offerings in their hands, call to remembrance the mighty acts of divine deliverance, whereby they first became the congregation of God. The dedication of nature's gifts to the God who gave them, is overshadowed by the memory of His still greater spiritual gifts. And at this feast the ancient dedication of the first-born is brought in a very beautiful and suggestive way into connection with God's mighty act against the first-born of Egypt.[6]

With this feast, which indicates the first beginning of harvest, the feast that ends the harvest is closely connected. Seven times seven days after the first sheaf of barley has been offered, the harvest is to be regarded as over, and the produce of the field consecrated for use as food by "a new meal-offering."[7] Originally the feast may have been simply a popular holiday in connection with the feast of Unleavened

[1] חג המצות, Lev. xxiii. 6; Ex. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 18; Num. xxviii. 17.
[2] Lev. xxiii. 7 f. [3] Ex. xii. 11.
[4] Lev. xxiii. 10 ff.
[5] Num. ix. 10 ff.; cf. 1 Kings xii. 32 for the feast of Tabernacles.
[6] Ex. xi. 5, xiii. 2, 12 ff., xxxiv. 19 (Deut. xii. 17, xiv. 23, xv. 19).
[7] Lev. xxiii. 15 f. In the Jordan valley wheat harvest is in May, in Hebron in the beginning of June; cf. Robinson, *Travels*, ii. 560; Num. xxviii. 26.

Bread. In Deuteronomy it lasts only a single day.[1] In Ezekiel it disappears altogether.[2] In A, however, since the Passover feast of Unleavened Bread got quite a historical character, this day naturally becomes all the more emphatically a "harvest-feast,"[3] and attains to greater importance (George). It is the harvest-feast or feast of Weeks, that is, of the seven weeks of harvest, which are over.[4] It closes the new year holiday season.

The seventh month of the year is as holy as the first, and indeed holier. Even the 1st of this month is a very solemn feast-day.[5] But it is on the 10th that "the feast" begins, the greatest double festival which Israel has.[6] It continues from the 15th to the 21st, and thus corresponds exactly with the spring festival. The 10th day of the seventh month is *the great day of repentance and atonement.*[7] Israel looks back on the goodness of his God, experienced in the course of the year's harvest, remembers his own unworthiness of these blessings, and seeks to expiate his sin, that he may, in purity and without fear, enjoy the blessing of his God. This is the only *fast-day* which the law prescribes.[8] On it the remarkable sacrifice is offered with which we shall

[1] Deut. xvi. 10. [2] Ezek. xlv. 21 ff.

[3] Ex. xxiii. 16, חג הקציר בכרי מעשיך, xxxiv. 22, בכרי קציר חטים; Num. xxviii. 26, הבכורים.

[4] Ex. xxxiv. 22, חג שׁ ע; cf. Num. xxviii. 26. It was not till a very late period that this feast was held in memory of the giving of the law.

[5] Lev. xxiii. 23, שׁבתון זכרון תרועה (Num. xxix. 2).

[6] Cf. 1 Sam. i. 3, 20; Isa. xxix. 1, xxxii. 9 f.

[7] Lev. xxiii. 26; יום הכפרים, Lev. xvi.; Num, xxix. 7.

[8] Lev. xxiii. 27; ענה נפשׁ, Num. xxix. 7. The day of atonement, which first appears in A,—perhaps in earlier days it was only a purification of the altar (Ex. xxix. 36, xxx. 10; Ezek. xliii. 20 ff., Mishna Tract. Taan.), and had a joyous character,—has its origin in the growing attention paid to such "uncleanness," on account of which the prophets would scarcely have dreaded the anger of God (Adler in *Stade Zeitschr.* iii. 178). Ezek. xlv. 18 institutes another day of repentance, and, consequently, he does not yet know of this day. (Wellh., "Before the Exile, fast-days are proclaimed only on the occasion of public calamities," 1 Kings xxi. 9, 12; Jer. xiv. 3, xxxvi. 6, 9; cf. Joel i. 14, ii. 12, 15. During the Exile they begin to become customary, B. J. lviii. 3 ff.)

deal more fully in the following section. Only with deep humility and holy longings after purification can the holy people worthily receive with full heart the good gifts of its God.

Israel, thus purified, can now begin with a glad heart the great festival of thanksgiving and joy which corresponds to the feast of Unleavened Bread, "the harvest-home at the close of the year,"[1] which lasts from the 15th to the 21st of the seventh month, when the fruit is ripe and the grapes are gathered. During these days ancient Israel feasted and danced in the newly-gleaned vineyards.[2] People came out from the villages and towns to the fruit-gardens to live in booths and enjoy a happy autumn holiday. Hence the feast was also called "the feast of Booths."[3] Even when these "gladsome booths" had become memorials of the movable tents used in the homeless wilderness, the joyous character of this harvest festival continued indelible.[4] At it the choicest product of the land which God had given to His people, the fruit of the vine and of all fruit-bearing trees, was thankfully consecrated to the Giver,—that gift with which, when once the bare necessaries of existence have been secured, the pleasures and the culture of life, with its hearty social intercourse, are closely connected.

The great cycle of the festal year is thus complete. In addition to the seventh day of the week, the fundamental principle of which reappears in the Sabbatic year and the year of jubilee, we have first, in the first month, the feast of the Passover together with the feast of Unleavened Bread, then the feast of Weeks, and lastly, in the seventh month, the first day of which has its own special celebration, the great day of atonement, together with the feast of Tabernacles. On all these days specially solemn sacrifices were offered about which there

[1] חג האסף בצאת השנה, Ex. xxiii. 16 (תקופת השנה, Ex. xxxiv. 22).
[2] Judg. xxi. 19 ff. (ix. 27). [3] חג הסכות, Lev. xxiii. 34.
[4] Lev. xxiii. 42 f.; Hos. xii. 10 puts the matter in exactly the reverse way, "I will yet make thee to dwell in tabernacles as in the days of the solemn feast." Even Deut. xvi. 13 ff. does not yet know of the historical reference.

is in A a special law.[1] On the principal days of the three great feasts there was a festal gathering[2] of the holy people before their Lord. And as subjects must not approach the throne of their king without a present, they, too, were forbidden to appear before Jehovah with empty hands.[3] This cycle of festivals was meant to indicate that God was this people's King; that this people's life was wholly His; that their time, with the blessings which it brings, was His property; and that the cares of daily life might be cast upon Him as soon as their dedication to Him of what they had received, and their penitent yearning after reconciliation, made the people a worthy object of His providence and love.

4. *Sacred Ceremonies.*

LITERATURE. — *A.* On purifications, prayers, and vows: Pressel, art. "Gebet," in Herzog. Oehler, art. "Gelübde," in Herzog, 2nd ed., Delitzsch. Leyrer, art. "Reinigungen bei den Hebräern," in Herzog, 2nd ed., König. Spencer, "De lustrationibus et purificationibus Hebræorum" (Ugolin, *Thesaur. ant. sacr.* vol. xxii.). Hermann, *l.c.*, 124 ff. Schömann, *l.c.*, vol. ii. 192, 216, 249, 256. — *B.* On sacrifices in general: Georg Lorenz Bauer, *Beschreibung der gottesdienstlichen Verfassung der alten Hebräer*, i., 1805. G. H. F. Scholl, "Ueber die Opferideen der Alten, insbesondere bei den Juden (*Studien der württemb. Geistlichkeit*, 3, 4, 5), (*Die ältere Literatur*, vol. iv. p. 3 ff.). Hegel, *Religionsphilosophie*, vol. i. 229 f., ii. 90 ff. Bähr, *l.c.* Ewald, *l.c.* Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, 2nd ed. ii.*a*, p. 214 ff. Oehler,

[1] Num. xxviii. 9–xxix. 39.

מקרא קדשׁ. עצרת, Lev. xxiii. 8, 36 f.; Num. xxix. 1, 7, 12, 35, xxviii. 18, 25 f.; cf. Isa. i. 13, where עצרה is parallel to מקרא. For the outward form of the ceremony, cf. Ex. xix. 10. The three feasts of Unleavened Bread, of Weeks, and of Tabernacles, are constantly represented as the festival season proper, Ex. xxiii., xxxiv. 18; Deut. xvi.; 1 Kings ix. 25.

[3] Ex. xxiii. 15; Deut. xvi. 16; cf. Maundrell, *Reise*, p. 37.

"Opfercultus des Alten Testamentes" (Herzog, *Realencycl*, 2nd ed., Orelli); "Eiferopfer" (supplement to Herzog). J. Kurtz, *Der alttestamentliche Opfercultus.* Saalschütz, *l.c.*, i. 306 ff. Hengstenberg, *Die Opfer der heiligen Schrift*, 1859. Tholuck, Beilage ii. *zum Commentar über den Brief an die Hebräer*, 5th ed. 1861. Valentin Thalhofer, *Die unblutigen Opfer des mosaischen Cultus*, 1848. Keil, *Handbuch der biblischen Archäologie*, 1859, i. 191–345 (cf. *Luther. Zeitschr. f. Theol.* 1856). Spencer, *Dissert.* ii. 937–992; *Dissert.* iii. 993–1042. Wangemann, *Das Opfer nach der heiligen Schrift*, 1866, two vols. Neumann, "Die Opfer des Alten Bundes" (*Deutsche Zeitschrift für christl. Wissensch. und christl. Leben*, 1852, Nos. 30–33; 1853, Nos. 40–44; 1857, Nos. 36–38; cf. *Sacra Veteris Testamenti salutaria*, Lips. 1853. Ed. Riehm, "Ueber das Schuldopfer" (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1854). By the same author, *Begriff der Sühne im Alten Testament*, Gotha 1877. Rink, "Ueber das Schuldopfer" (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1855). Adalbert Merz, "Kritische Untersuchungen über die Opfergesetze," Lev. i.–vii. (Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Th.* 1863, i., ii.). Alb. Stöckl, *Liturgie und dogmatische Bedeutung der alttestamentlichen Opfer insbesondere in ihrem Verhältnisse zur neutestamentlichen Opfertheorie*, Nürnb. 1848. G. Karch, "*Die mosaischen Opfer als vorbildliche Grundlage der Bitten im Vaterunser*, i., 1856; ii., 1857, Würzburg. Ritschl, *Jahrbb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1863, ii., iii.; *Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, vol. ii. 185 ff. J. Marbach, "Das Blut, eine theologische Studie" (Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschr. für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Halle 1866, ii. 137 ff.). Chwolsohn, *l.c.*, ii. 142. Hermann, *l.c.*, 126, 132, Not. 24, 141, 156 f., 162. Schömann, *l.c.*, ii. 220 f., 226 f., 231 ff. (cf. Knobel, *Commentar zu Ex. u. Lev.*).—*C.* On the ritual of the day of atonement: Spencer, *l.c.*, 1425–1504. Oehler, "Versöhnungstag" (Herzog, *Realencycl.*, 2nd ed., Orelli). Diestel, "Set, Typhon, Azazel, und Satan" (Ilgen-Niedner's *Zeitschr. f. histor. Theol.* 1860, ii.). Hengstenberg,

Die Bücher Mosis und Aegypten, p. 167. Movers, *l.c.*, p. 267 f. Chwolsohn, *l.c.*, i. 816, ii. 246. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, pp. 27 ff., 49 ff. Philo, ed. Mg. i. 498; *Julian Orat.* iv. 281, 288 (ed. Cram. Par.). Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 1 (Herod. ii. 46). Enoch, translated by Dillmann, viii. 1, x. 4, xiii. 1 ff. (Kaiser, *l.c.*, ii. 123; Graul, *Reise nach Ostindien*, iii. 296 ff.)

1. Of the sacred acts by which, among every people and in every age, piety instinctively shows itself, prayer is the simplest and most natural. In ancient Israel, and indeed even in the Law, it has no fixed form, and obviously has not the predominance which it attained in later ages. So far as is known to us, it was, before Ezra's time, only the expression of feelings real and strong, such as gratitude, sorrow, or anxiety,—not a sacred form independent of special exciting causes.[1] A stronger form of prayer is the vow, whether it be one to do or not to do a particular thing.[2] Its purpose is to give the entreaty greater force, to express the earnest desire, as well as the sincere piety of the suppliant. This naturally implies that the person thinks that such a gift or such an act of renunciation will be appreciated by God, and be agreeable to Him. Even here the Law still keeps within strictly moral lines, while, at the same time, it shows itself in solemn earnest about whatever is promised to God. Vows, such as were undoubtedly very common among the people since the earliest times, and were taken in terrible earnest,[3] the Law nowhere encourages or even sanctions.[4] Persons in a dependent position are forbidden to take a vow which would render them incapable of discharging their duties, or

[1] On modes of offering prayer (by standing, kneeling, lifting up or stretching out the hands, falling on the ground, putting the head between the knees), and on turning while at prayer towards the temple, cf. Pressel and Ewald, *Alterth.* 18; Ex. viii. 24. העתיר, Hos. v. 6; Isa. i. 15; Jer. xiv. 12; 1 Kings viii. 27 ff.; Prov. xv. 8; Job xxxiii. 26.

[2] אסר, נדר.

[3] Judg. xi. 35; 1 Sam. xiv. 24 ff.

[4] So esp. Deut. xxiii. 23; Lev. xxvii. 2–8.

would injure their family position.[1] But where it is made, it must be made in good faith; a vow cannot be retracted, nor can one less onerous be substituted.[2] It must not include anything unclean, or, as a matter of course, anything which already belongs to God.[3] The most usual form of vow appears to have been that of the Nazirite.[4] We may put fasts[5] next, instances of which occur not unfrequently in the national history[6] on occasions of a sorrowful kind. It is a voluntary act of the community or of an individual, due to some momentary impulse. Of a holy passion for self-humiliation in order to please God, such as is common in other ancient religions, the Law as yet knows nothing.

The earnestness with which Old Testament saints conceived of the holiness and majesty of Israel's God, and of man's natural unworthiness, is indicated by the various kinds of *washings* and *purifications*, which are exceedingly numerous, and were beyond a doubt in frequent use even in ancient Israel. Sometimes it was enough to express purification from a stain of any kind by a symbolical washing with water, or with water mixed with ashes.[7] Sometimes those who took part in sacred acts had, owing to the solemn nature of the event, to be themselves made holy by consecration.[8] Indeed, fire itself as the element of destruction was used for cleansing

[1] Num. xxx. 2 ff. (Dependants not without the permission of those on whom they are dependent.)

[2] Num. xxx. 3 ff. (Deut xxiii. 23).

[3] Lev. xxvii. 26; Deut. xxiii. 18.

[4] Num. vi.

[5] Num. xxx. 14.

[6] Judg. xx. 23, 26; 1 Sam. vii. 6, xxxi. 13; 2 Sam. i. 11, 12, xii. 17, 22; 1 Kings xxi. 9, 12, 27 (Ps. xxxv. 13 f.). (As a sign of mourning, Joel i. 13, ii. 12, 13, 15; Zech. vii. 3, 5, viii. 19.) The pouring out of water before God as a sign of mourning and prayer, 1 Sam. vii. 6.

[7] Num. xix. 9 (viii. 7). Sprinkled with a bunch of hyssop; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 733, 639, 725; Virgil, *Eclog.* viii. 101, *Æn.* vi. 230; Juven. *Sat.* ii. 157 (Olive-twig). Cedar wood is the symbol of incorruptibility; hyssop is regarded by all the nations of antiquity as purifying; red is the symbol of vital force.

[8] *E.g.* Lev. xiii. 34, 58, xiv. 8, 9, 47, xv. 5 f., 13, 17 f., 20 ff., 27 ff., xvi. 4, 24, 26, 28; Num. xix. 13, 19, 20, xxxi. 19, 20; 2 Sam. xi. 4 (Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 45). Cf. Zech. xiii. 1. Clemens Alex. (ed. Potter, 361). The Egyptians were the first to lay down the law, μὴ εἰς ἱερὰ εἰσιέναι ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀλούτους.

where water was not sufficient.[1] But in every case the purpose was to bring into accord the majesty of God and the consecration of those who are His people.

2. As for sacrifice,—according to our use of the word, the offering of what might be human food, as a gift devoted once for all to God,—it is no more the case that it arose in Israel, than that the first regulations for it were the sacrificial laws of the Pentateuch. But A, founding on written and oral traditions, drew up on a systematic plan of his own a general code of sacrificial laws. A, of course, no longer thinks, as did the ancients in their *naïveté*, that God experiences "sensuous pleasure" in accepting a sacrifice, although even he speaks of a "sweet-smelling savour."[2] But that Jehovah attaches great importance to these gifts is for A a self-evident truth. Of the indifference of the prophets to this whole department he knows nothing. The sacrificial laws in A are the result of the natural tendency of a priestly class to make its sacred forms more and more detailed. For the Old Testament doctrine of atonement they really possess no religious importance. And even in themselves, from having been compiled from a variety of traditions, they present, despite their systematic arrangement, many great difficulties. Above all, they leave us quite in the dark as to the religious significance of the individual acts. The only interest they possess is with regard to the exact nature of the sacred form.

The most general name for sacrifice, which extends far beyond the domain of sacrifice proper, as we have defined it,

[1] Ex. xix. 14, xxix. 4, xxx. 19, xl. 12, 31 f.; Lev. viii. 6, xxii. 6. Even put back to patriarchal times, Gen. xxxv. 2. Washing before prayer is first mentioned in Judith xii. 7, 8. Still, as among other peoples, something similar was probably the custom at an early date. *Iliad*, vi. 266; Eurip. *Ione*, 94. The metaphor, "to wash one's hands in innocency," Ps. xxvi. 6.

[2] לחם אשה, Lev. iii. 11, 16, xxi. 6; Num. xxviii. 2; לחם אלהים, Lev. xxi. 17, 22; ריח הניחח, Ex. xxix. 18, 25, 41; Lev. i. 9, 13, ii. 2, 9, 12, iii. 5, 16, iv. 31, vi. 8, viii. 28, xvii. 6.

is Qorbân, offering.[1] But within the domain of sacrifice proper there is, first of all, an important distinction. There is the *sacrifice of a living creature*, Zebach,[2] slaughter. This word may, of course, be used to denote the killing of any animal. But since originally such a thing scarcely ever happened without being a sacrifice, it came to be the term for *killing in connection with worship*. Alongside of it we have the sacrifice of vegetable foods, the *meal-offering*, Minchah,[3] combined with the *drink-offering*, Nesech.[4] In the Law it is only in rare cases that the Minchah is offered alone;[5] it is generally an accompaniment of animal sacrifice, so that "sacrifice and offering" is the standing formula for a complete sacrifice. It may have a variety of forms,[6] but its chief component is invariably wheaten meal. Oil and salt[7] are always mixed with it; the one as representing the vigour and fulness of life, the other as that which prevents putrefaction. Incense, the proper symbol of the public worship of God, is always used along with it, so that the *incense-offering*,[8] though occasionally presented alone,[9] may be regarded as the normal accompaniment of the Minchah.[10] There must be neither honey nor leaven in it, as these are signs of putrefaction.[11] Besides, only plants which belong to a man, having become his through his own labour, are allowable. A part of it God consumes with fire as "a sweet smell."[12]

[1] קרבן, from הקריב, Lev. i. 2, ii. 11, iii. 1, 6, v. 11, vii. 29, xvii. 4; Num. vii. 3, 12, 19; cf. מתנת קדשׁ, Ex. xxviii. 38.

[2] זבח. [3] מנחה, Lev. vi. 7 ff.

[4] נסך. The drink-offering of water on fast-days in 1 Sam. vii. 6; just as among the Greeks, too, water was offered to the gods of the under-world instead of wine (Schömann, ii. 220; Hermann, 141).

[5] Lev. ii. 1 ff., v. 11; Num. v. 15, 25. Originally, according to Gen. iv. 3, Judg. vi. 18, 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, ii. 17, 1 Kings xviii. 29, the word denoted "offering," in the wider sense. [6] Lev. ii. 1 ff.

[7] The salt of the covenant of God, Lev. ii. 13. [8] קטרת.

[9] Ex. xxx. 34 f. [10] Num. xvi. 7, 17; Isa. i. 13; B. J. xliii. 23.

[11] Lev. ii. 11 (probably as first-fruits, 12).

[12] אזכרה. I understand the word as Ewald does (*Alterth.* 62). B. J. lxvi. 3, הזכיר לבנה. According to A, the translation could be something like "memorial sacrifice;" Lev. vi. 15, ii. 2, 9, 16, v. 12; Num. v. 26, 15, 18. The incense is utterly consumed, Lev. ii. 2, 16.

The remainder belongs to the priest as *most holy*,[1] but, of course, only when the offerer is not himself a priest. If he be, the whole must be given to God.[2]

The offering of a slain beast was undoubtedly the normal form of sacrifice which, at every period of their history, the Israelites believed that God valued and accepted. The meal-offering was a mere supplement, like vegetables to meat. Hence even early legend represents the better sacrifice, which Abel offered, as the slaying of an animal.[3] It is true that the more general name, "Minchah," gift, was afterwards applied to a bloodless sacrifice. But the expression was not used in a strict sense. Now, as it is certain that the idea of "feasting" was invariably associated by a pastoral people then, as it is now, with that of "eating flesh," it is difficult to imagine that the bloodless offering was ever considered the higher.[4] Still in times when the people were not very well off it may have been, for obvious reasons, comparatively more common than the other.[5] From the *form* in which the offering is presented to God, there also occur, in addition to the names already mentioned, "incense-offering," "sweet-smelling sacrifice," "drink-offering," the expression Isheh,[6] sacrifice by fire, which can be used of all sacrifices presented to God by fire, and the special word Olah,[7] burnt-offering, which is certainly not connected with the idea of "rising up,"[8] but with the root-meaning

[1] Lev. ii. 3, 10, vi. 9 f., vii. 9 f., x. 12. [2] Lev. vi. 14 ff., כליל.

[3] Gen. iv. 3 ff.

[4] Isa. xxii. 13; Gen. xviii. 7, xxvii. 4; cf. *e.g.* Robinson's *Travels*, i. 342; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 218, etc. Even the name of the altar, מזבח, favours this interpretation.

[5] Of all animals sacrificed, even when they are otherwise used as food, the fat and the blood, being the symbols of strength and life, belong to God alone, Lev. iii. 17, vii. 25.

[6] אשה, of all kinds of sacrifice, Lev. i. 9, 13, 17, ii. 2, 9, iii. 5, 16, viii. 28; Num. xv. 3, xxviii. 8, xxx. 13. [7] עולה.

[8] עלה, although it is often connected with העלה. But the idea of "mounting upon the altar" is unquestionably too jejune and general to indicate a kind of sacrifice.

"glow."[1] In addition to this word, and denoting the same kind of sacrifice, we have the term whole burnt-offering, Kalil,[2] by which is meant that the whole animal is burned, and thus presented to God without any other use being made of the victim's flesh.

3. We divide sacrifices according to their meaning and object into three classes:—

A. Sacrifices of worship; that is, sacrifices offered, not because of any special ground for thankfulness or penitence, but as expressions of religious devotion to God on the part of the community, and of an individual as a pious member of that community. This class is represented by the burnt-offering or the whole burnt-offering.[3] In earlier times it may have had a still wider meaning, and may, perhaps, have even represented the sin-offering and the guilt-offering. There are, at any rate, clear traces of this sacrifice having a really expiatory character, and that, too, where it is a question of actual sin, not of ceremonial uncleanness in itself without guilt.[4]

[1] עור. Perhaps even in העלה there lies a similar meaning (Ewald), Judg. xiii. 19; cf. 2 Sam. vi. 17 (cf. Fürst on this word), otherwise there is here a similar combination to שוב שבות.

[2] כליל, certainly synonymous with עולה, 1 Sam. vii. 9; Deut. xxxiii. 10. Even the co-ordination with ו, Ps. li. 21, can only be a poetic expression for "and what is the same" (Ps. lxxiv. 11, xliv. 4, xc. 2), since the statute in Lev. vi. 15 f. is too fragmentary and too late to explain a poetic expression of this kind.

[3] Lev. vi.

[4] Lev. i. 4; 2 Sam. xxiv. 18–25; 1 Sam. xxvi. 19 (?), iii. 14; Micah vi. 6 f.; Job i. 5, xlii. 8. May it possibly be that the distinction between sin-offering and burnt-offering, for which no proof-passages can be quoted earlier than Ezekiel and Ps. xl. 7, is connected with the fact that the numerous priesthood could not exist among a small people without getting a greater share of the sacrifices than it had any right to from the שלמים, which were being offered more and more rarely? It is a striking fact that a sin-offering is not wholly consumed with fire, and that the sins for which it is commanded rather favour the idea of its having originated at a late period. That would explain the emphasis with which the duty of the priests to eat this sacred flesh was insisted on by A, —an emphasis which is scarcely intelligible in regard to an ancient custom, Lev. vi. 19, 22, vii. 6; cf. ix. 8–11, 15, x. 16–20. (In 2 Kings xii. 17 there is mention only of כסף אשם and כסף חטאות, and it is to this that the taunt in Hos. iv. 8 has reference, "They feed on the sin of my people, and set their heart on their iniquity.")

But in A it has no special expiatory character. It is offered simply in connection with a joyous feast,[1] and where there can be no question of an appeasing of divine wrath.[2] By it the community has to show its reverence for God. Hence the most valuable males without blemish are to be offered.[3] Hence, when they are dedicated by the laying on of hands, they are *devoted wholly to God by fire*, this constituting the peculiarity of this kind of sacrifice.[4] It would be an inconsistency if any part of what the piety of the community dedicated to God as a present, were to be consumed by that community itself. Hence the burnt-offering is the form of the daily sacrifice in the sanctuary. Regularly morning and evening (a custom which also regulated the division of time[5]) a burnt-offering was laid on the altar, consisting of a lamb, 'the continual burnt-offering," and its proper meal-offering.[6] Whatever else comes upon this altar is consumed with the burnt-offering.[7] This offering of the community in connection with the public worship of God[8] formed the regular foundation on which any special act of sacrifice could be afterwards performed. The burnt-offerings in individual cases form, on the other hand, the concluding act of worship, after the special atonement is completed. The blood is sprinkled on the

[1] Ex. x. 25; 1 Kings iii. 15, and Judg. xi. 30 f.

[2] Gen. viii. 20, xxii. 2, 7; Ex. xxxii. 5 ff.; Deut. xxvii. 6. It occurs along with sin-offerings and guilt-offerings, Ex. xxix. 10–14, cf. 15–19; Lev. ix. 2 f., xii. 6, 8, xiv. 12, xv. 14 f., 30; Ezek. xlv. 23.

[3] Lev. i. 3, 10, 14 (in cases of necessity, pigeons).

[4] Lev. i. 9.

[5] 1 Chron. xvi. 40.

[6] Lev. vi. 2 ff.; cf. Ex. xxix. 38 (1 Chron. xvi. 40). The עולת תמיד, "between the evenings," that is, immediately after sunset, and in the morning.

[7] *E.g.* Lev. vi. 5. Besides, even strangers could show their reverence for the God of Israel by such sacrifices, as, *e.g.*, the Roman emperors (Joseph. c. *Ap.* ii. 6; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 17. 2; cf. Lev. xvii. 8, xxii. 18, 25). The gradual increase of this regular Olah from 2 Kings xvi. 15 and Ezek. xlvi. 13 ff. up to A, Lev. vi. 1–7, —the idea of the Olath Tamidh as an *opus operatum* forming the centre of the religion (Lev. vi. 6, vii. 2; Deut. ix. 27),—is not without interest for the history of religion.

[8] In early days paid by the king, afterwards a tax on the community; cf. Ex. xxx. 11 ff.

altar in order to devote the life to God, in the sense, however, not of a definite atonement, but of a gift, a token of reverence. The feeling of general unworthiness in presence of the holy God, even in A already very strongly developed, must certainly have accompanied every act of worship in Israel. Every one who comes to an act of sacrifice must "sanctify himself."[1] But still that is not the essential feature of this sacrifice.

B. In the second class we put the *thank-offerings*,[2] sacrifices offered to God on special occasions and for special reasons by individuals to express their thankfulness for what God gives. These were naturally offered on every festive occasion, and without such an offering the piety of ancient peoples did not permit flesh to be eaten. They were anxious to present God with a welcome gift, whether on the occasion of a vow,[3] or from an instinctive prompting of piety,[4] or simply out of gratitude.[5] What distinguishes these from the other sacrifices is the *festive meal*, in which the person "rejoices before God."[6] In A, of course, the traces of this have become very faint compared with the ancient gladness with which the people offered sacrifice. Hence even leavened bread might be used

[1] 1 Sam. xvi. 5.

[2] זבח שלמים, Lev. vii. 11, xvii. 5, in most cases also meant when זבח stands alone. The word denotes neither sacrifices of blessedness nor sacrifices of salvation, intended to indicate "the whole fulness of salvation." It rather refers to the unbroken covenant relation which the sacrificial meal serves to express (Wellhausen). But even the Olah presupposes such a relation. It is connected with the Piel of the verb, and is therefore a sacrifice of "requital," "repayment," that is, a sacrifice for a favour received or about to be received.

[3] נדר, Lev. vii. 16, xxvii. 1 ff. (Of course, in a vow one may also choose other forms of sacrifice, Lev. xxii. 18; Num. xv. 3; Judg. xi. 30 f.)

[4] נדבה, Lev. vii. 16 (Ps. lvi. 13). (All other acts of sacrifice, *e.g.* Ex. xxxv. 29, xxxvi. 3, may, of course, be also regarded as Nedaboth.)

[5] זבח תודה, Lev. vii. 12, xxii. 29; cf. Ps. xxvii. 6, זבחי־תרועה. In this case the strict law was that nothing of the sacred meal should be left over till the following day—in the case of the Neder and Nedabah nothing was to be left till the third day (Lev. vii. 15 f., xix. 6).

[6] Deut. xii. 7, 12, 18, xiv. 24 ff.; 1 Sam. xx. 6, xi. 15; cf. Ex. xviii. 12; Gen. xxxi. 54.

with sacrifices of this kind; and where there was no vow, people might choose even animals of no great value and not altogether without blemish,[1] only not such as would not make a meal.[2] Among the ancient people such votive thank-offerings not unfrequently degenerated into "scenes of debauchery" very far from holy.[3] On the other hand, they have enriched the vocabulary of religion with a number of most significant metaphors for joy in God.[4]

In these sacrifices the offerer presents the animal to God, dedicates it by laying his hand on it, and slays it. In the blood, the priest presents to God the life of the victim.[5] Then, as a token of homage, God is given "the best of the flesh," *i.e.* the fat, which is burned,[6] and the right breast and shoulder—not merely as being the choicest piece (as in 1 Sam. ix. 24), but as the seat of life and strength, as is proved by the selection of the right side. These are His by way of honour, and the priests offer them to Him by lifting them up[7] and presenting them,[8] in order to receive them back again from Him as His servants. Whatever is left over is then eaten at a festive meal as an act of worship. In such sacrifices there is no idea of anxious penitence for sin. They make prayer more efficacious, and they express thanks for its having been heard. To this general class belong also the *covenant-sacrifices* connected with the solemn feast, at which

[1] Lev. vii. 15, xxii. 23. [2] Lev. iii. 6 ff.

[3] Prov. vii. 14; Isa. xxviii. 8. 1 Sam. i. 13 also shows that at such sacrificial feasts drunkenness was not considered anything extraordinary.

[4] Ps. xxii. 26 f.; B. J. xxv. 6 ff., lxii. 8, 9; Deut. xxvii. 7.

[5] For the rite, cf. Lev. iii. 1 ff., vii. 11.

[6] הקטיר חלב, 1 Sam. ii. 15. (Not merely the inside fat; for, according to Lev. iii. 3–5, the fat tail of the sheep is also included.) For the idea, cf. the expressions, "the fat of the land," "the fat of wheat," esp. Ps. xx. 4, May God think thine offerings "fat."

[7] שׁוק התרומה.

[8] חזה התנופה. The meaning of the expressions, "lifted up before God," "presented to God," comes out very clearly in Ex. xxxv. 5, 21, 22, 24, xxxvi. 3, 6, xxxviii. 24, 29, xxv. 2; Num. viii. 11, 13, 15, 21; cf. Ex. xxix. 24 ff.; Lev. vii. 30 f., ix. 21, x. 14 f.

the contracting parties assist, and which are a very ancient custom. These, however, are rather a symbolical form of oath, the sacrificial meal being meant as a pledge of fellowship.

C. The third class consists of *sin-offerings* and *guilt-offerings*.[1] These are sacrifices offered by an individual or a community in order to restore the relationship to God which sin or guilt has disturbed, that is to say, in order to obtain reconciliation. The common characteristic of these is the atoning use of the sacrificial offering and the sacrificial blood, and they have one and the same Thorah.[2] It seems to me not improbable that both of these, as special kinds of sacrifice, restricted, but only gradually, the general use of the burnt-offering; and that, on the other hand, their respective differences were never quite agreed upon and clearly formulated. The distinguishing of the two is essentially a matter of archæological interest.

It must, in the first place, become clear to every one that it is an utter impossibility to separate these two kinds of sacrifice, if Lev. v. 1–13 is regarded as a law anent the *guilt-offering*. For in that case the guilt-offering would be simply presented as a burnt-offering for sin,[3] and the cases cited, viz. keeping silence when under oath, touching something unclean, taking an imprudent vow, correspond so exactly with the causes of a sin-offering, that a distinction is impossible. But as a guilt-offering is undoubtedly to be regarded as a different kind of sacrifice from a burnt-offering for sin,[4] we must either conclude that there are two sets of laws from different sources, or assume, with Riehm, that the word "repentance" has, in the section cited, a more general

[1] חטאת, Lev. iv. 24, viii. 2, 14, etc.; cf. חטא, Lev. ix. 15; התחטא, Num. viii. 21; אשם, *e.g.* Lev. vi. 10.

[2] Lev. vii. 7.

[3] Lev. v. 6–8, 12. (Asham and Chattath are here interchanged as absolutely synonymous.)

[4] Lev. vi. 10, vii. 1, 7, 37, xiv. 12 f.; Num. v. 5 f., vi. 12, xviii. 9; 2 Kings xii. 17; Ezek. xl. 39, xlii. 13, xliv. 29, xlvi. 20.

meaning, as indeed the expression "to be guilty" occurs elsewhere also in connection with sin-offerings.[1] The guilt-offering, then, is made where one has infringed the rights of a sacred personage or of a neighbour inadvertently, or in some other way regarded as pardonable; in other words, where *satisfaction has to be given to a definite person, whether God or a neighbour*, on account of some encroachment on the privileges he enjoys, the word privilege being used in its widest sense. It is atonement for infringement of a right. If a man meddles with something sacred,[2] or if, as Nazirite, he unwittingly injures what he has vowed to God, and thus defiles what is dedicated to God in his own person,[3] or if he lays faithless or violent hands on the property of a neighbour,[4] —a female slave included,—then all these are cases where a guilt-offering is necessary. Its distinctive mark is its fixed value,[5] the amount to be paid as compensation being one-fifth more than the damage done;[6] in a word, the payment is of the nature of an indemnity. The sin-offering, on the other hand, is required wherever, through inadvertence or any other mitigating cause, something has occurred which, without doing definite injury to God or one's neighbour, violates the require-

[1] *E.g.* Lev. iv. 22, 27. אשם, according to the older usage of the language, is applied to presents of gold and other sacred gifts, 1 Sam. vi. 3, and to money-fines paid into the temple treasury, 2 Kings xii. 17. This original meaning of a "money fine" without a special sacrifice is still characteristic of the word, even in A.

[2] Lev. v. 15 f. (Thus even the sacred gift with which the Philistines send back the ark of Jehovah is אשם, a "fine," 1 Sam. vi. 3 ff.)

[3] Num. vi. 12. It is certain it is only in this respect, and not in regard to the time devoted to God's service, that he has offended. On the other hand, it will always be difficult to make the case in Lev. xiv. 12 f., 17, fit in with this whole theory. In that instance a guilt-offering was probably prescribed, because a condition of things had arisen which destroyed the sacred character of the Israelite, and before the right relationship could be re-established an equivalent must first be paid to God; whereas for the violation of physical holiness, as in the case of touching a dead body (Lev. v. 2 ff.), a sin-offering was presented.

[4] Lev. v. 21 ff.; Num. v. 6 ff.; Lev. xix. 20 f.; Ezra x. 10 (מעל).

[5] איל־הכפרים, Num. v. 8; איל־האשם, Lev. v. 16; cf. the price, Lev. v. 15, 18: two shekels of the sanctuary.

[6] Lev. v. 16, 24; Num. v. 7.

ments of moral or physical holiness. It is atonement for uncleanness. Its peculiarity is the search after purification, because the question of compensation or indemnity cannot come in. Hence its essential and most solemn characteristic is the shedding of the atoning blood. Accordingly the value of the offering depends on the position of the culprit; for the higher that position is, the graver does the impurity become.[1] This sacrifice being really the chief example of its class, we must give it almost exclusive attention.[2]

It is only when a sin has been committed "inadvertently," "unwittingly," that these expiatory sacrifices of the Law can

[1] Lev. xvi. 3, 5, iv. 13, 22, 27.

[2] As stated above, the view adopted by Riehm has commended itself most to me; although, on account of Lev. xiv. 12 ff. and v. 17, I am by no means free from doubts. The theory of Ewald, that the guilt-offering was made "where the individual feels himself shut out from the favour of his God by conscious guilt or a mysterious divine suffering,—the sin-offering where the individual does not feel himself intentionally guilty,"—is, in my opinion, disproved by Lev. v. 1–13, where sin-offerings are required for cases which include a distinct consciousness of guilt on the part of the individual, and on the similarity of Lev. v. 17 with Lev. iv. 27. The theory of Gesenius, that the guilt-offering atoned for lighter transgressions, and the sin-offering for more flagrant ones, is disproved by simply comparing Lev. iv. 1–v. 13 with v. 14 ff.; Num. v. 5 ff. Indeed, the compensation to be paid and the definite value of the victim would rather lead to the opposite conclusion. It would, however, be very natural to consider the guilt-offering as a mere subdivision of the sin-offering, especially where there is, apart from the sin, "a condition the reverse of holy." Only in that case it would be difficult to understand why the guilt-offering is always found along with the sin-offering, while in many cases the two ought to be interchangeable. And besides, if it were so, a sin-offering must have been offered in every case, even where special justification for a guilt-offering exists, which is obviously not the case. The correct view, that in a sin-offering reparation for the sin can be made only by *penitence*, whereas in a guilt-offering this can be done by an indemnity, by *compensation* to God, His sanctuary, or one's neighbour, is also given by Saalschütz; and even Rink acknowledges that a guilt-offering is in place wherever an act of atonement or requital is necessary. But when he adds, probably on account of Lev. xiv., "also in order thereby to obtain privileges," he forgets that in that case the guilt-offering would fall into the category of a precatory or votive sacrifice—not into that of a propitiatory sacrifice (cf. Kurtz, Oehler, etc.). (Cf. on this question, Wellh. 77.) I have no doubt also that ancient ordinances lie at the foundation of these laws, although the religious life of ancient Israel knew of money fines in place of these sacrifices (2 Kings xii. 17; Hos. iv. 8). The criticism of Lev. xiii. and xiv. by Fr. Delitzsch ("Pentateuch Kritische Studien," *Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wiss. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1880, 1) is very instructive.

be properly offered.[1] Still there are a number of cases where they are allowed, even although there is no such "inadvertence" in the proper sense of the word; as, for instance, when the culprit informs against himself, without having been convicted, and so on. He has then to offer, if it be a guilt-offering, a victim of the required value; if a sin-offering, one of more or less value, according to his own standing in the theocracy. The priest and the holy congregation are rated highest, then the prince, and last of all the ordinary citizen. The value ranges from a bullock to a she-goat[2] or a ewe;[3] in cases of poverty, to pigeons; and in an extreme case, a bloodless offering without oil and incense.[4] In every case, however, the character of sadness is kept up. Female animals,[5] the goat,[6] the want of incense and oil, betoken this peculiarity of the expiatory sacrifice. The victim is dedicated to God by the offerer laying his hand upon it, and is then killed.[7] If it is a sin-offering, the next act is a specially solemn application of the blood as an atonement. In the most solemn case the blood is brought direct to God into the Holy of Holies, while all the sacred utensils are besprinkled with it.[8] In other cases of a solemn sin-offering, the priest sprinkles the atoning blood with his finger seven times on the veil and on the horns of the sacred altar, and pours out the rest of it before the altar of burnt-offering.[9] In more ordinary cases the blood is put with the finger only on the brazen altar and its horns.[10] But in every instance it is this sprinkling with blood that constitutes the really sacramental part of the ceremony. Then almost the same portions of the victim are devoted to God by fire as are burnt in the case of

[1] In reality, therefore, they have nothing to do with the question of atonement and forgiveness of sins.

[2] Lev. iv. 28.

[3] Lev. v. 6.

[4] Lev. v. 7, 11; cf. Num. v. 15, 25.

[5] Lev. iv. 28, 32, v. 6.; cf. Schömann, ii. 226.

[6] Lev. iv. 23, xvi. 7.

[7] Ex. xxix. 10; Lev. iv. 4, 16, 24, 28 ff.

[8] Lev. xvi. 14, 15, 18.

[9] Lev. iv. 7, 17.

[10] Ex. xxix. 12; Lev. iv. 25, 29, 30, viii. 15, ix. 9.

a thank-offering.[1] But the remainder of the victim, too, which has been offered in token of penitence, belongs to God as most holy.[2] It cannot be used for any ordinary purpose; it must not even be touched by anything unconsecrated. Every vessel in which it is prepared must be broken, or if it be of iron, it must at least be cleansed.[3] As a rule, the offering must be eaten by the priests in a holy place.[4] But a significant story reminds us that this was something unusual, and expresses the horror which the eating of such a sacrifice produced, the awe with which everything "consecrated to God" was regarded.[5] When the priest himself, or the whole community, brought the sin-offering, so that, as a matter of course, no part of it could be appropriated by the priest, it had to be burned in some clean place, while the blood was brought into the very tabernacle, that is, was consecrated to God Himself.[6] In this case the burning, of course, served as a mere means of destruction, so that what was holy might not be polluted by becoming rotten and putrid; and in the sanctuary there was no place to burn what could not be offered. That what was in this case really essential, was the sacrifice of an animal, and that the meal-offering was merely an adjunct, is evident from the whole character of the rite.

4. When we inquire as to the religious meaning of the various forms of sacrifice, we find it easiest to determine the significance of the thank-offerings. They are meant merely to express a specially pious frame of mind, and have throughout no significance except as *gifts, presents.* Whoever asks anything in prayer, or has obtained anything, should not appear before God empty-handed;[7] he is bound to show and

[1] Ex. xxix. 13; Lev. iv. 8, 10, 31; cf. vii. 1 ff. The ram of the guilt-offering.
[2] Lev. vi. 10, 18, 23, vii. 1, 6, x. 17, xiv. 13.
[3] Lev. vi. 20 f. [4] Lev. vi. 19, 22, vii. 6.
[5] Lev. ix. 8–11, 15, x. 16–20.
[6] Ex. xxix. 14; Lev. iv. 11, 12, 21, ix. 11, xvi. 27 f.; cf. vi. 23, x. 18.
[7] Ex. xxiii. 15.

acknowledge that he receives everything from the Most High. Just as a man brings the first-fruits of his fields and the firstlings of his herds as tribute, so, on the special occasions when he appears before God, he ought to appear with gifts. Indeed, he should never partake of any festive meal without remembering his God, and presenting Him with a part of it, with the honourable portion which belongs to the King.

In all this there is absolutely no thought of any kind of atonement. One cannot, it is true, give an animal to God without killing it, and dedicating its life to the Lord of life by the shedding of its blood. But that has no more to do with atonement than has the burning of incense in the meal-offering. On this point the one-sided view taken of a single passage has caused great confusion. In Lev. xvii. 10, 11, the sacredness of the blood is emphasised, because it is the property of God alone, His holy of holies in nature, within which the secret of life lies under lock and key. It is there said, "I have given it to you to *cover* your souls." From this it has been inferred that wherever the blood is offered to God, it invariably gives the sacrifice an expiatory character. But the idea of expiation has been put into the word "cover" without any justification, and the fact has been overlooked that this passage simply regards the most important object of sacrifice as applicable to all the various kinds of it. The blood, being the life or the bearer of life, is holy, dedicated to God, withheld from every profane use.[1] This is already emphasised in Deut. xii. 16, 23 f., and is certainly a very ancient view. When this blood is in sacrifice brought again into the presence of God, and poured out on His altar, the victim's life is thereby given back to Him. This completes the act of consecration, by which a man is made fit to appear

[1] Gen. ix. 4 ff.; Lev. xvii. 10 f. The special exposition follows in connection with sacrifices of atonement, and the view there given of the term "cover." (The בנפש and בנפשו, vers. 11 and 14, is quite as clear a gloss as is דמו in Gen. ix. 4.)

before the holy God. When this is done for the purpose of atonement, the blood certainly receives its most special and mysterious sacrificial meaning. In the thank-offering, on the other hand, the victim is killed simply because it can be dedicated to God in no other way. Its blood is poured out on the altar because its life belongs to God, and has to be presented to Him. Hence, according to the Deuteronomist, when an animal is eaten, though not as a sacrifice, the blood is to be poured out upon the ground like water.[1] Consequently in the thank-offering the blood consecrates the person for sacred service. A part of the victim's flesh is burned, that it may ascend in flame to God. The honorary portion is given to Him in His servants; the rest is eaten with gladness as in a covenant feast. The whole sacrifice has simply the character of a gift to God, the King, presented out of gratitude, joy, or reverence. Of an arrestment of human life, for which the victim's life is substituted, there is, of course, in none of these sacrifices any suggestion at all. Nor do we meet with the ancient idea of a communion of life between God and His worshippers being effected by their partaking of the flesh of the same animal (Robertson Smith). It is simply as a part of human food, of human property, that the animal is given back, just as a vegetable gift might be, to God the Lord and Giver of all.

The religious ideas which lie at the foundation of the burnt-offering are less simple. This is to be expected since all the varying moods which influence the life of a community in its public worship are expressed by this class of offerings, so that its meaning is necessarily richer and more manifold. But it is still more to be expected, because through all the narrower details of the law regarding this kind of sacrifice there shines an original and much wider meaning. The

[1] In Israel this idea about blood is ancient. Thus David, 2 Sam. xxiii. 14 ff., pours out the water brought to him by his mighty men at the risk of their lives "to Jehovah," because it is "the blood" of the men who risked their lives for it.

essential feature of the sacrifice is the complete surrender of the victim to God. Hence its main purpose is to indicate that it is the absolute duty of the community and the individual to belong with all their possessions to God, to testify that God may demand from His people what He will, and reckon on a perfectly boundless devotion. Human sacrifice, which the primitive age had no scruple in including within this duty, is no longer thought of by the law. The life of a man has to be unconditionally redeemed by that of an animal.[1] Here, then, an animal is, in a certain sense, the substitute of a man;[2] but not as if it were punished for him, or bore his guilt, but simply because, instead of the greater offering which He might claim, God is willing to accept the smaller; instead of the highest life that exists on earth, the lower, that of the animal. There is no reason, even in the case of a burnt-offering, why we should regard the sprinkling of blood as expiatory. It merely expresses the dedication to God of the life of the animal sacrificed. The real intention is to signify that unreserved devotion to God which does not consider even the most costly gift as too valuable to be given up and dedicated to the Most High God, who is King over Israel.[3]

The greatest difficulty, however, is to ascertain the religious ideas at the basis of the expiatory sacrifices, the sin-offering and the guilt-offering. It is here that the sacramental and the symbolical touch each other. It is here that the widest scope is given to mysticism, and in such a realm it is always a matter of extraordinary difficulty to find a doctrinal expression for the import of such ceremonies that will at the same

[1] Gen. xxii. 13; Ex. xiii. 13, 15; Lev. xx. 1 ff.; cf. Jer. xix. 5; Ezek. xx. 25; Micah vi. 6 ff. In the same way among the Egyptians also, the oxen that were properly marked were sacrificed instead of human victims, and by the Greeks and Romans a similar development is seen.

[2] תחת; cf. Gen. xxii. 13; Ex. xiii. 13, 15.

[3] If God accepts the burnt-offering, He has thereby entered, as it were, into the relationship of "guest," which excludes anger, Judg. xiii. 23. A person undertaking something important generally assured himself in this way of the favour of God, 1 Sam. xiii. 12, חלה את־פני יהוה.

time be just to every feeling. At any rate, we need never imagine that we are here in possession of really religious ideas of atonement, or that we shall obtain any explanation of the significance of the atoning work of Jesus, which is acted out on a far higher moral plane. But we are nevertheless face to face with a difficult and interesting question.

The general meaning of the expiatory sacrifices can, it is true, be determined with perfect certainty. They, too, are primarily meant to be gifts, presents. Whenever a man becomes conscious of having failed to discharge his duties and obligations, in other words, of having made himself guilty in the eyes of the King of Israel, he seeks to get rid of the consciousness of God's displeasure. In cases of *actual moral guilt*, the older prophets had rejected as popular superstition the wish to win back the favour of God by any outward sacrifices whatsoever. Where God is really angry, the prayer of His servants may restore the people to His favour, by reminding Him, for example, of Israel's fathers, of the covenant, and of the divine honour which is bound up with Israel, and which must suffer from a ruthless infliction of punishment.[1] Thus one loved by God may, with all the glow of love, intercede for this nation, may connect himself indissolubly with its fate, and by vicarious suffering work out its redemption.[2] Or deeds done through zeal for God, and in accordance with the divine will, may avert His anger, if it can be averted at all.[3] Sacrifices like the legal sacrifices of atonement are not intended for actual sins like these. But when the covenant has not been broken, when a mere mistake, such as may be committed by one sincerely anxious to be loyal, has separated an individual from his God, then God, who is not really angry, has in His covenant-

[1] So Ex. xxxii. 11 (C).

[2] So Ex. xxxii. 30, כפר בעד; B. J. liii. Ezek. iv. 4 ff., on the other hand, bears the guilt of the people only symbolically.

[3] So through the deed of Phinehas, Num. xxv. 11 ff., כפר על.

mercy instituted the expiatory sacrifice as the legal mode of settlement. By it God's "countenance is smoothed," as is the countenance of an earthly potentate.[1] Just as in a court of justice, a person guilty of a crime which does not absolutely deserve death, not having been intentionally committed, may be let off with a fine,[2] if the party injured be willing; so, in virtue of His covenant-mercy, God is willing to accept a ransom for sins which are not absolutely unpardonable. And because the life of an animal is the highest and holiest thing in the possession of man, it is fixed upon as the ransom, although, of course, its efficacy depends solely on the good pleasure, the mercy of God. This is certainly the general idea, and one quite sufficient to explain the guilt-offering, for here it is evident the leading thought is that of a fine, or payment according to the amount of damage done.[3] In the case of the sin-offering, however, we have to do with a number of more delicate questions connected with the death and the blood of the victim, and their atoning efficacy.

The whole procedure would be most simply and fully explained, could it be traced back to the idea of an *actual or real substitution;* that is, to the idea that the victim, in stepping into the place of the guilty person, must let the punishment due to him be inflicted on itself. Then, with the laying on of the man's hand, the guilt would be, as it were, transferred to the head of the victim, to its soul. For this theory there is much to be said. Among many other nations there is undoubtedly something of the same idea to be found, especially in the view taken of the polluting character of the

[1] חלה פנים; cf. 1 Sam. xiii. 12; 2 Kings xiii. 4 (also of other sacrifices); Gen. xxxii. 21; Zech. vii. 2; כפר פנים; cf. Ps. xlv. 13. Even the rich among the people shall entreat Thy favour, "shall smooth Thy face with presents."

[2] כפר, Num. xxxv. 31–34; Ex. xxi. 30, etc. The parallel is complete. *For intentional murder* the court cannot accept a ransom. For intentional sin (ביד רמה) there is no atoning sacrifice. For a fatal, if unpremeditated, blow, compensation may be accepted, if the plaintiff be willing. For unintentional sin (בשגגה), God, who is always gracious, does accept a ransom.

[3] Thus, in more ancient times, there is mention only of a ransom or fine, of which the sanctuary got the benefit, 2 Kings xii. 17; Hos. iv. 8.

objects used for expiation.[1] And that there was in Israel a similar popular belief, may be inferred from their deep-seated horror of the flesh of the sin-offering.[2] It is likewise undoubted that the people when under the wrath of God obtained a reconciliation by the death of individuals who were not personally guilty.[3] And the whole theory that the blood, as the source of life, that is, as the soul, "covers" or "atones for" the soul, points most naturally to the theory of an interchange of *rôles*, in other words, to a real substitution.[4]

Still nothing more can be conceded than that even in the law *involuntary echoes* of such a view are found. It is clear that even the heathen theory of an atoning sacrifice admits of only a *symbolical* substitution.[5] And the support apparently given by certain passages to substitutionary atonement disappears on a closer examination. Thus the question in Deut. xxi. 1–9 is not about a substitutionary atoning death, but about a symbolical form of oath by which the community, while repudiating connection with the crime, calls down a curse on itself in case of perjury. And when, in 2 Sam. xxi. 5 ff., cf. Ex. xx. 5, the curse of an organised body works itself out even on its innocent members, in that case the innocent are not punished for the guilty, but the whole race is judged as if it were a single individual. Besides, in the law there is no question as to capital offences. Finally, if a human sacrifice is replaced by an animal one, that is merely *a vicarious act, not a vicarious punishment.* And the flesh of an animal slain as a sin-offering falls, indeed, under the ban, and is regarded with dread. But it is not *unclean;* it is rather *most holy*,[6] and only on that account is it destructive

[1] Cf. Hermann, 126, 132, Nr. 24, 164; Schömann, ii. 230 ff., 239.

[2] Lev. ix. 8–11, 15, x. 16–20; cf. Lev. xvi. 28; Num. xix. 7, 8, where it is a question as to a means of purification. Also expressions like Prov. xxi. 18, "The wicked is a ransom for the righteous," point to some such popular view; cf. also the metaphor in B. J. xliii. 4, 10.

[3] 2 Sam. xxi. 5 ff.

[4] Lev. xvii. 11.

[5] Cf. Hermann, *l.c.*

[6] Lev. vi. 10, 18–23, vii. 1, 6, x. 17, xiv. 13.

and fatal.[1] The priests use it as food. If there is nobody who can eat it, as, for example, if it be offered by the priest or by the community itself, then, like everything wholly devoted to God, even the meal-offering,[2] it must come under the "ban," that is, be destroyed, in order that no profane use may dishonour it. In some *clean place* (and therefore not as a thing itself unclean), it is to be burned outside the camp, that the people may not run the risk of coming into contact with what is most holy;[3] and the same rules also hold good of the meal-offering and of other things.[4] Indeed, in the most decisive instance, viz. Lev. xvi., not only must he who takes part in the sacrifice purify himself, but so also must he who accompanies the animal that is let loose. Here, therefore, it is not the sacrifice, but the whole character of the transaction, that makes purification necessary.

By the laying on of the hand the sin is not transferred to the victim. In itself this is merely a general act of *dedication*. By this act the person who dedicates confers his own dignity on another.[5] By it the community testifies that it hands over to God one of its members to be either banned[6] or dedicated.[7] And by the laying on of his hand, the sacrificer dedicates each victim, as his own property, to some higher object, that object, of course, varying according to the intention with which he offers the sacrifice. Thus in the

[1] Also the fact that whoever touches it becomes holy, that is, has to be slain; and in this connection we may mention the person among the Romans over whom were spoken the words "*sacer esto*" (יקדש), Lev. vi. 11, 20 חרם.

[2] Lev. vi. 10. [3] Lev. iv. 12, 20, vi. 16, 23.

[4] In Lev. vi. 10 it is said that the Minchah is most holy, like the sin-offering and the guilt-offering. The priest must eat the sin-offering, just because what is most holy destroys every one but himself (x. 12, 17, xiv. 13). Even one on whom the blood spurts must wash himself, and the vessel in which it is prepared must be also cleansed or broken. But that is because it is "most holy," Lev. vi. 20, 22. Were the *blood* unclean, it could not be brought into the presence of God. And just where that is so in the very highest degree must the flesh as too holy be burned (ver. 23).

[5] So Num. xxvii. 18, 20, 23. [6] So Lev. xxiv. 14.

[7] So Num. viii. 10, 12.

case of a sin-offering he dedicates it as a means of atonement for himself, in order that it may be the bearer and instrument of his repentance. But if he meant to lay his guilt upon it, and if that were indeed allowable, there would at any rate still have to be some distinct oral confession of sin. Indeed, even in that case the victim would only be described as that by which the sinner wishes to lift off the sin he has confessed, not as that which is now to be considered the bearer of this sin. Besides, in the law the death of the victim does not constitute the atonement. It is merely the means by which the life (blood) of the victim is appropriated to God. It cannot therefore be regarded as in any sense a vicarious punishment. Whatever is devoted to God must die, that which is under the ban as well as the first-born,[1] the thank-offering as well as the burnt-offering. And only after the killing is over, is the blood brought as an atonement before God; and that not as a life that has become unclean and guilty, but as something fit for the presence of God. Finally, Lev. v. 11 is conclusive. For if the bearing of punishment by the victim were the leading idea, then in no case, not even in a case of poverty, would a vegetable offering be allowable. That this is possible, proves that the essence of the act is not the death-penalty, but the gift.[2]

Hence this "transubstantiation-theory" is in every case untenable, however well it may appear to agree with a few somewhat obscure expressions[3] and with the holy horror of what has been employed to atone for sin. Still less tenable

[1] Ex. xiii. 13, 15.

[2] Lev. v. 11. The saying in 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, which has a genuinely archaic ring about it, should also be compared, "If it be Jehovah that hath stirred thee up against me, let Him smell a Minchah!"

[3] Thus the very expression כפר has forced its way deep into poetry. Cf. the beautiful passage, Ps. xlix. 7, 8. No man can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him (Ex. xxx. 12). In B. J. xliii. 3, 4, God promises to give to Cyrus as ransom for Israel the distant lands of the south, *i.e.* without metaphor, to bestow upon him, as his reward for setting Israel free, the empire of the world. In both cases the root-metaphor is the ransoming of slaves (קנה פרה).

is the theory of Keil, that "the soul of the victim, and therefore of the man who offers it, is brought by the sacrifice into gracious fellowship with the Lord, and that the blotting out of sin and the sanctifying of the person pardoned is represented by the way in which the flesh of the victim is treated." For it is clear that the victim is devoted to God as a gift of penitence, and received by Him in death and fire. Its blood, as the bearer of the soul, "atones" for the soul of the sinner. The victim in its death is the medium of the sinner's penitence, not the symbol of the sinner becoming purified.

Accordingly we may consider the view of the writer of the law to have been as follows. When God is really angry with His people or with an individual, He demands satisfaction. In many cases this is to be got only through the working out of His anger. Then the guilty person falls under the ban, is destroyed out of the land of the living;[1] or if the real culprit is no longer alive, his posterity is smitten because of their family connection with him;[2] just as the leaders of the people may, in their representative capacity, be punished instead of the whole community.[3] In such cases, then, the anger of God does not pass away till it has been executed. Only when God in His goodness and mercy allows Himself to be appeased by intercession or by sincere repentance on the part of man, can such a doom be averted. And assuredly since the days of the great prophets the Israelites never again quite forgot that the God of Israel has no pleasure in willing the death of a sinner.[4]

[1] חרם; where this is not strictly carried out, the anger of God falls upon those who are too slow in executing His commands, who have permitted the land to continue polluted; cf. Josh. vii. 26, viii. 26, x. 1, 28, 37, 39, 40; Judg. i. 17; 1 Sam. xv. 33 ff., xxviii. 18; cf. 1 Kings xx. 42 (2 Kings xxiii. 20).

[2] 2 Sam. xxi. 5 ff.; Ex. xx. 5 (2 Sam. xii. 18).

[3] Num. xxv. 4 (the reverse in 2 Sam. xxiv. 13 ff.).

[4] Cases like 2 Sam. xxi. 6 do not occur any more in later times. Even 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 ff. testifies to the idea of possible sacrificial atonement for sin; cf. Ezek. xviii.

But when it is not a case of divine anger, that is, when a man has erred through weakness without any contempt of covenant statutes, it is quite a different matter. Then it is not a question of averting God's anger or of its working itself out. But for breaking the statute the sinner has to make such satisfaction as has been provided for in the covenant itself, and been graciously accepted by the covenant God. This satisfaction is the sin-offering, which is a ransom, a redemption.[1] Hence the root-idea of the propitiatory sacrifice is that the sinner acknowledges his sin, seeks reconciliation, and gives actual expression to his repentance by surrender of his property. It is an acknowledgment that God is right and the sinner wrong. It gives to the offended majesty of the divine claim a satisfaction which, it is true, is only of value because God accepts it, because He is willing to be reconciled.

Accordingly, the law lays no stress on the intrinsic value of the sacrifice. That human sacrifice is quite excluded from such cases as we are now considering, is self-evident. But even where ancient Israel saw in it a means of defence against God's anger,[2] its application is absolutely excluded by the law. And even animal sacrifice is kept within the limits of symbol. No hecatombs fall in Israel by way of atonement. Single victims are enough, varying according to the sinner's position in the ranks of the holy people, according to the degree in which the holiness required by God has been violated. If need be, the meal-offering, the smallest of all sacrifices, is sufficient. And the specially atoning element, the blood, God has given to man for this very purpose. Man does not, by his gift, extort reconciliation from God. Nor does God satisfy His

[1] כפר; most plainly in Ex. xxi. 30, xxx. 12; Num. xxxi. 50. The last passage, like Ex. v. 3, is remarkable as giving utterance to the ancient feeling that "inexplicable good fortune" must be expiated, lest it bring some judgment in its train; cf. Num. xxxv. 31–34; 2 Kings xii. 17.

[2] Micah vi. 7; cf. 2 Kings iii. 27. The constantly recurring worship of Moloch.

anger by punishing in place of the guilty, the innocent who have had no evil intention. But in His mercy He accepts the gift of repentance and atonement, and even puts it into the hand of man, so that the holy act of reconciliation may be accomplished in the right and proper way.

In a sacrifice of atonement, as soon as the sacrificial act is fully performed, the blood becomes the real centre of the ceremony. With it the priest covers the sinner, that is, as the servant of God who holds uninterrupted intercourse with Him, he leads the unworthy one back into fellowship with God, makes him, by means of the victim's blood, fit for His holy presence, and thus brings it about that pardon comes to the sinner through God's acceptance of his sacrifice. Hence the priest brings the blood direct into the presence of God; and the higher the sinner stands among the covenant people, the more solemn is the ceremony. According to the Hebrew view, as well as the Greek,[1] the blood is the mystery of life. "In its soul, that is, in its blood, ye shall not eat any animal," is the prohibition already laid upon Noah in regard to eating animal food.[2] And the law forbids the eating of blood under pain of death, "for the soul of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh atonement (through the soul); for the soul of all flesh is its blood (in its soul)."[3] At all events the meaning is perfectly clear. Because the blood represents the soul-life of the animal, it belongs absolutely to the Lord of creation. It is entrusted to man only for the most holy use, viz. to serve as a means of dedication. Since a living animal is the noblest object in

[1] According to Homer, by drinking blood souls change from shades into beings who speak and feel. *Odys.* xi. 50, etc. (cf. Verg. *Aen.* ix. 348 f.; Hippocr. *Dogm.* ii.; Cicero, *Tusc.* i. 9).

[2] Gen. ix. 4 ff. Human blood is absolutely sacred, and demands vengeance wherever it is shed.

[3] Lev. xvii. 11, 14; cf. Deut. xii. 23. That the words within brackets are glosses, is also shown by the Septuagint.

creation, it is in itself a suitable gift for God, especially because it comes as property into close connection with man. Hence the essence of this offering is *the life of the victim*, the sanctuary of nature, the blood. When it is brought to God the animal is wholly surrendered to Him, the offering is complete, and thereby its object is also attained, viz. reconciliation. This and nothing else is certainly the real meaning, even in an expiatory sacrifice, of the sprinkling with blood,—the appropriation to God of the animal's life, the accomplishment of the penance demanded by Him through the surrender of that sacred thing, the mysterious centre of life. This blood, given to God, forms, as it were, the robe in which the priest arrays the sinner so that he may appear before God.[1]

[1] In the instance given, the holy sacrificial blood is also sprinkled along with oil upon the offerer himself in order to sanctify him. In the Passover and in the making of a covenant it is the mysterious means of consecration. Ex. xii. 23, xxiv. 8; cf. Lev. xiv. 5, 14, 20. Riehm, who is in essential agreement with the view here advocated of the significance of the ritual connected with the sin-offering, would add to it a single feature. His idea is that the same working of the divine anger which reveals itself along with His mercy, in the destruction of the wicked, in the ban that falls upon guilty families, likewise finds expression in the sin-offering, when the body of the victim, by the offering of which the sinner is brought into a right relation with God, is destroyed by this consuming zeal of God as "a thing under the ban," whether by being eaten, a duty which is laid upon the priests, or by being burned outside the camp, in which case the uncleanness of the victim makes the person unclean who has to perform this act of destruction. It must be conceded to Riehm that in the dread of eating the flesh of a sin-offering, and in the uncleanness of the priest who on the day of atonement has to burn its flesh, a feeling of abhorrence is manifested for the animal that has been put to this mysterious use. But the inferences which Riehm draws manifestly go far beyond the scope of the few passages on which he founds. In the Old Testament, as among all ancient peoples, the ideas of being "most holy" and of being "banned" are closely akin. And to touch what is "holy" is as dangerous as to touch what is "banned," and can be done only by those who have been specially sanctified. Hence the dread; hence, too, the burning with fire when the priest may not eat the flesh. Hence, too, the carrying of it *outside* the camp, because all contact with what is most holy would bring guilt upon the people. But if the victim were an object of God's destroying curse, then the priests could not eat it, nor would it be burned in a clean place, nor would the guilt-offering, when a bloodless one, be wholly appropriated by the priests like every other meal-offering (Lev. ii. 9, v. 13, vi. 10). And when so much stress is laid on the *one* passage (Lev. xvi. 28) in which a *purification* is enjoined after the burning of a victim, it is forgotten that purification must

5. What we have just stated makes the meaning which the word כִּפֶּר has in sacrificial law perfectly clear. In the language of living piety, the word was chiefly applied to an act of God. He "covers" the sins of His people, that is, He forgives them in virtue of His covenant grace as soon as the heart of the people that has been turned away from Him is again turned towards Him, as soon as ever the people are in circumstances that accord with the covenant.[1] In that case God never thinks of continuing to punish, of allowing His anger to work itself out. He does that only so long as His people do not return to Him, and have not put away that which God cannot endure in them, since He is the holy guardian of righteousness, who cannot bear with iniquity.[2] In like manner, it is also said of the sinner that he "covers" his guilt or the punishment of it when by some means or other he obtains forgiveness.[3] And outside the religious sphere altogether there is the phrase "to cover, with a present, the face" of one who has been insulted, that is, to induce him by means of a present to take no further notice of the insult.[4]

In all these cases the word means "to forgive" or "obtain forgiveness," and has nothing to do with sacrifices. Outside the law of sacrifice, the word is only rarely used of men "covering the people or its sin." It is so used when Moses by his intercession induces God to forgive[5] the people; or when the representatives of the community obtain forgiveness for the people by re-establishing law and order,[6] or by proving that

take place even after a besprinkling with sacrificial blood (Lev. vi. 20), which is nevertheless regarded as *expiatory*, but not as *unclean*. Every victim, too, even in the act of being killed, was considered "most holy." This word consequently cannot include the meaning of "banned." Everything is most holy which is absolutely and under pain of divine wrath withdrawn from ordinary use (the whole sanctuary is so, Num. iv. 4; cf. iv. 15, 16).

[1] Isa. vi. 7, xxii. 14, xxvii. 9; Ps. lxv. 4, lxxix. 9; Jer. xviii. 23; Ezek. xvi. 63; Deut. xxi. 8; Dan. ix. 24 (with double ל and the acc. and with עַל).

[2] Num. xxxv. 33; 2 Sam. xxi. 3 ff. So God covers the land when He takes vengeance on its enemies, Deut. xxxii. 43.

[3] B. J. xlvii. 11.

[4] Gen. xxxii. 21; cf. Prov. xvi. 6, 14.

[5] Ex. xxxii. 30, בְּעַד.

[6] Num. xxxv. 33.

the community repudiates the crime in question,[1] or by giving expression through some deed of zeal to the judgment of God;[2] or when Aaron in the holiness of his office averts by prayer the anger of God;[3] or when the congregation of Israel itself, trembling at some mysterious outbreak of divine wrath, offers a ransom, by way of humbly redeeming itself from this wrath, which may have been called forth by too great prosperity, and as an acknowledgment of the justice of God.[4]

The language used in the sacrificial laws is altogether different. Here the question is not about a *religious* relationship at all, but about a *ceremonial*. Only such events are dealt with as occur within the existing relationship of grace. The necessity of the "covering" arises, not from God's *wrath*, but from His *holiness*, in presence of which weak flesh is not in itself sufficiently worthy, and still less so when it has sinned. Hence it is always said that the priest, as such, "covers" the Israelite, or even that he "covers" the sacred vessels, which would be profaned by the people's unworthiness,[5] and that he does, as a rule, by means of sacrificial blood. Not always, however. For even a bloodless sin-offering has the same effect;[6] even the holy anointing oil may serve as a covering.[7]

Where vessels are in question, the covering simply means

[1] Deut. xxi. 1 ff. For this rite is nothing more than a solemn oath of purification according to an antique custom, and in no sense a substitutionary slaying of the victim.

[2] Num. xxv. 13. [3] Num. xvii. 11, 12; cf. viii. 19.

[4] Ex. xxx. 15; Num. xxxi. 50 (תרומה). For a thoroughly antique view of God, cf. Lev. x. 6; Num. i. 53, xviii. 5; Ex. xii. 13, xxx. 12. From His august touch, which is therefore fatal to any ordinary person, the priests protect themselves by washing, Ex. xxx. 20 (Deut. iv. 33).

[5] Ex. xxix. 36, xxx. 10; Lev. xvi. 16, 18, 20, viii. 15 (xiv. 53) (כפר על, בעד). Lev. xvi. 10 is a striking passage. There the text must either be corrupt or this goat is dedicated to a holy purpose. (H. Oort would, according to Lev. xiv., conjecture that the goat that was to be let loose was sprinkled with the blood of the one sacrificed.) The accusative with כפר is rare; still it is found as in Lev. xvi. 20, Ezek. xliii. 26, xlv. 20, in quite the same sense as על and בעד. The word stands without an object in Lev. vi. 23, xvi. 27.

[6] Lev. v. 11 ff.; Num. v. 15. [7] Lev. xiv. 18, 29.

purification, consecration (קִדֵּשׁ, טִהֵר),[1] a ceremony undergone by persons and vessels alike before being employed for any holy purpose. The eye of God, which should rest with delight on the abodes of revelation as absolutely holy, must not be grieved by seeing them lose their sanctity through being touched by "a people of unclean lips."[2] By means of the consecrated blood or the holy anointing oil, stronger means of symbolical purification than mere water, the priest symbolically restores their purity and "covers" these places, that is, makes their uncleanness invisible to the eye of God.

The matter is not quite so simple when it is a question of the community or its individual members. If the sin-offering alone had this effect of "covering," one would have to conclude, on the analogy of what has been just said, that the sacrificial blood takes away the stains of sin. To speak without a metaphor, because God by accepting the blood of the sacrifice declares the sin forgiven, the blood which the priest sprinkles upon God's sanctuary acts as "a covering" for the guilt of the sinner, that is, as a covering for his person. At any rate, everything done by the priest in connection with this sin-offering, even *his eating the flesh of it*, points to this purpose of "covering."[3] But the phrase is used also of the burnt-offering and the thank-offering,[4] and of all three kinds of sacrifice in common.[5] Hence the meaning must be a somewhat more general one.

Man as flesh, that is, because in contrast with the holy God he is, as a creature, weak, and therefore also, on his moral side, impure,—for, according to the Hebrew view, the two are inseparable,—is never in his natural condition so perfectly consecrated as to be fit to draw near to Israel's King; just as, in the view of the ancient East, no subject was ever fit to

[1] Both words alternate with כִּפֶּר. Ex. xxix. 36; Lev. xvi. 18, 30; Num. vi. 11, viii. 6–21; Ezek. xliii. 26.

[2] Isa. vi. 5; cf. Job xiii. 26; Ps. xix. 13. cxxx. 3, cxliii. 2, etc.

[3] Lev. x. 17.

[4] Lev. i. 4, xvi. 20, 30, xii. 7, 8, xv. 15, 30 (Ezek. xlv. 15; 1 Sam. iii. 14).

[5] Lev. xiv. 18, 29, xvi. 24; Num. xv. 25.

appear without ceremony in the presence of his sovereign lord. God's presence would annihilate him.[1] He must be shut out from it.[2] Accordingly, when he wishes to appear before God, in order to show his loyalty or his gratitude, or when, being polluted or weighed down by special transgressions, he has to seek the forgiveness of this God, he requires (1) one to introduce him, that is, the priest, who, as God's servant, has the right of access to Him; (2) a consecration or purification, which the priest performs upon him in order that God may disregard his unworthiness.[3] This consecration, this "festal robe," is lent him by the gift with which he appears—in the great majority of cases, by the holy blood of the sacrifice. By this means, therefore, the priest "covers" him, consecrates him, so that he can now apply the gift he has for God to the purpose which he has in his mind.[4] *Where there is sin, this is, of course, specially necessary.* For, in that case, to the universal unworthiness of man there is added the special stain caused by violation of the law. In these cases, therefore, it is specially necessary that the blood be brought into the presence of God. Consequently the need of "covering" is due, not to God's wrath, but rather to God's holiness. And this "covering" by the priest invariably denotes the bestowal of that consecration which gives the person access to God, so that he may adore Him, thank Him, obtain from Him the forgiveness which He has, in His covenant, promised to him who sacrifices. To this correspond, in the New Testament, the robes of the saints, sprinkled and washed in the blood of the Lamb.

6. The regular development of the sacrificial ritual is shown us by the law, in Numbers, regarding feast-days.[5]

[1] Isa. vi. 5, 7; Judg. vi. 22 ff. and often.

[2] In fact, every member of the community who is called out for service in the army must pay, according to Ex. xxx. 11–16, a half-shekel as כפר, in order, as it were, to cover his unworthiness.

[3] לפני יהוה; Lev. iv. 26, xix. 22.

[4] Cf. Ex. xxx. 20, washing.

[5] Num. xxviii. 3 ff.

The principal sacrifice is the daily burnt-offering, morning and evening. On the Sabbath this is doubled. On the new moons—that is, on the first of each month—there is a specially solemn burnt-offering, with a sin-offering in addition. On the feast-days there is a still more elaborate burnt-offering, which, however, becomes less elaborate as the feast goes on, with its meal-offering and its drink-offering, and the sin-offering which remains always the same. By adding to these the burnt-offerings, meal-offerings, drink-offerings, and thank-offerings, whether presented as free-will offerings or in fulfilment of vows, as well as the sin-offerings and the guilt-offerings called forth by special occasions, one gets a complete picture of the sacred acts of sacrifice prescribed by the law.

The way in which the various kinds of sacrifice are combined is specially instructive. Thus, in the joyous festival at the dedication of the altar, a burnt-offering and a meal-offering were combined with a thank-offering. The community assure their God of their loyalty, gratitude, and joy. In the same way, when a Nazirite breaks his vow, the guilt-offering, which he pays as a fine, and the sin-offering, by which he seeks forgiveness, are both combined with the burnt-offering as an act of public worship. But when his vow has been successfully kept to the end, then, in addition to the sin-offering, by which he asks forgiveness for any offence he may have unwittingly committed, and the burnt-offering, which is required as an act of worship, the Nazirite presents to God a thank-offering, with its proper meal-offering and drink-offering, for the period of abstinence successfully completed. The whole theory of sacrifice is shown with admirable clearness in the consecration of the priests, and in Aaron's installation into office. The basis of it is the sin-offering. Secret sin and unworthiness must be expiated before there can be any question of filling a sacred office. Then, as one already pardoned, the priest presents a burnt-offering in token of his loyal homage to the great God of Israel. Only then, when

this duty has been discharged, can he give expression to his gratitude for the high and honourable office God has graciously bestowed upon him. The thank-offering is presented, and the community of worshippers gathers to a joyous meal round the table now dedicated to God.

The day of atonement[1] includes the whole cycle of sacred acts. Whatever of pardonable sin, not expiated by particular acts of sacrifice, still stains the holy community, and consequently also its holy things, has to be taken away from it on that day. On the 10th day of the seventh month, and therefore before they begin the joyous feast of Tabernacles, the whole people must prepare themselves, by fasting and prayer, for the great atonement. On that day alone does the law demand "the mortification of the flesh."[2] The high priest does not wear his gorgeous official dress, but the white robes of purity and consecration.[3] The blood that is to expiate the people's sin must be brought directly into the presence of God, because the fullest expression must be given to the thought of atonement, because the innermost sanctuary must be cleansed from the stains with which it is defiled by the presence of a sinful people. He first offers a sin-offering for himself and the people. Enveloped in incense, he carries the blood before the holy mercy-seat, and besprinkles it therewith. Thus atonement is made for Israel, and its sin is taken away. Its holy things are consecrated; it stands there as a holy community in which God can dwell. His gracious presence in Israel is once more undisturbed. The second goat, which has been presented by the people for an expiatory purpose, but is not used as a sacrifice, can now be dedicated in order to carry the burden of the people's sins, laid upon it by confession, as being now forgiven and forgotten, away into the wilderness, beyond the consecrated circle of the camp, into a land where there is neither salva-

[1] Lev. xvi. 1–34.

[2] עִנָּה נַפְשׁ, Lev. xvi. 29, 31 (xxiii. 27, 32; Num. xxix. 7). [3] Ver. 4.

tion nor mercy. The feeling of horror at the impurity of sin is so strongly expressed by this ceremony that the persons who have to do with the burning of the animal sacrificed, and with the driving away of the living one, are regarded as polluted, and have to be washed before they regain the holiness necessary for fellowship with Israel.[1]

The sin of Israel being thus taken away, the high priest can again put on his royal robes, in which, symbolical as they are of the presence of the God of light, he appears among the community as the representative of their divine King. Then the burnt-offering is presented, the expression of religious consecration, and above it blazes the part of the sin-offering which is consumed by fire. Last of all, there comes the feast of Tabernacles, the most joyful of festal seasons.

In order rightly to understand this remarkable ceremonial, we must first clear the way by considering one particular question, which, in itself, might be more suitably discussed at a later stage. On the day of atonement the congregation brings two goats for the purpose of atonement.[2] For these, lots are cast at the door of the sanctuary, "one lot for Jehovah, and the other lot for Azazel."[3] The one on which the lot of Jehovah falls is then slain as a sin-offering. The other they bring before God "to make atonement over it, to send it away for Azazel into the wilderness."[4] Then, after the sins of the congregation have been confessed, this animal is made the bearer of all the sins of the now reconciled Israel, and is led away into the wilderness by a man who is thereby made unclean himself, and there it is let loose "in a solitary land."[5]

What, then, is the meaning here of the enigmatic word Azazel?[6] As Philo,[7] without intending to give an exact explanation, paraphrases the passage: "The one goat is given

[1] Lev. xvi. 26, 28. [2] Ver. 5. [3] Ver. 8.
[4] Ver. 10. [5] Vers. 20–23. [6] עֲזָאזֵל.
[7] Ed. Mg. i. 498.

to 'the fugitive creature,' and the lot which it received is named in the prophecy 'sent away,' because it is persecuted, expelled, and driven far away by Wisdom," many of the moderns, following the Versions, have seen in the word Azazel the name of the animal itself. The goat would be so named as "the one to be got rid of," "to be sent away."[1] But it is impossible that this can be the meaning. When one lot falls to Azazel, it cannot mean that the animal itself gets the lot; but it must denote some power to which it is allotted. Besides, if that were the meaning, the lot itself would determine which goat was to become Azazel. Certainly the expression "to send it away for Azazel into the wilderness" cannot mean "to send it into the wilderness so that it becomes Azazel."[2] Still less can the word be taken in an abstract sense as meaning "for sending away," or even "for a propitiation." Not only is this contrary to the whole formation of the word, but it would be impossible to understand how this goat, which does not bring about propitiation by dying, should be the very one designated as "bringing propitiation," and how a lot "for Jehovah" could be the same as a lot "for propitiation." To translate the word Azazel by "remoteness" or "wilderness" is contrary to the laws of language, and quite irreconcilable with ver. 10.

Consequently we must think of some powerful being to whom this animal is assigned, and to whom it is sent with the now forgiven guilt of the reconciled people—not as a sacrifice, but as a symbolical representation of the fact that there is no longer any guilt in Israel. This being must be conceived of as strange and unholy. One's interpretation will greatly depend, it is true, on the view one takes as to the time at which this law originated. If the law were a very old one, containing a remnant of Semitic mythology, then

[1] From עזל, عزل.

[2] The construction is different in Ex. xxi. 2, יצא לחפשי

we should unquestionably have to think of עֲזָא, עֲזָאזֵל, and consider the word to be a form of the Semitic name for the devastating war-god. In that case we should probably have to assume that it is not a compound of אֵל, the name of God, but a word with the final syllable לְ—. But if the law dates from the Exile, there is no reason why the word should not be put into the series of forms with which the later language was wont to name angels and demons. In Enoch,[1] Azāzêl occurs along with Semjâzâ, Urâkibarâmêêl, Akibêêl, Tâmiêl, Râmuêl, Dânêl, Ezeqêêl, Sarâqujâl, Asâêl, etc., as one of the sons of God who defiled themselves with women;[2] and he is represented as bound in the wilderness with iron chains of darkness.[3]

There has long been[4] an inclination to discover an allusion here to the Egyptian custom of making similar symbolical consignments to Set-Typhon, who, as a god of the sea, which drives back the Nile, was hostile to the Egyptians, and, as the antagonist of Osiris, was the god of the victorious foreigner. But that is not probable. Set is not the god of the wilderness. He was in the olden time a god highly honoured in Egypt, and it never became a universal habit to regard him as an enemy. Azazel is rather an Aramaic (Babylonian?) name for an unclean and ungodlike power, which has its abode in the wilderness, in the accursed land outside the sacred bounds of the camp. This ceremony is no more contradictory of pure monotheism than is the doctrine of Satan or the doctrine of angels. This ordinance exactly corresponds on a large scale with what is laid down on a small scale in Lev. xiv. 1 ff. and 49 ff. In the latter passage, when the leprosy in a house has been cured, of two pigeons presented as a sin-offering, the one is actually killed, the other, after being sprinkled with the blood of the sin-offering, is let go alive, as a sign that the uncleanness of the house has been taken away. In like manner here, after the great

[1] Chap. x. 4. [2] Gen. vi. [3] The form is evidently Aramaic.
[4] Even Spencer, Hengstenberg (following Plutarch).

propitiation for the people and the sanctuary, one of the dedicated victims is sent away, laden with the sins of the people, to the powerful being which has its abode outside "in the world," beyond the holy land of mercy, not as a sacrifice, but as a proof that in the holy land there is no longer any unexpiated guilt. Consequently this animal, too, is unclean. He who has led it away must purify himself.[1] It is a picture similar to that which the prophet Zechariah sees,[2] when, after the acquittal of the high priest, and therefore of Israel itself, before the angel of Jehovah, the sin is carried away out of the pardoned land into Babylon, the land of sin.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CLOSING ERA IN THE HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT RELIGION.

1. Although the victories of Alexander the Great altered the outward condition of Israel, they certainly had no very great effect on the religious development of the people. Instead of Persia, Egypt at first became the ruling power; but however much Israel seems to have suffered in secular matters, it nevertheless retained its religious independence. But what had begun to develop since the time of Ezra, was now to show itself more and more distinctly.

The consciousness of inward emptiness, and the feeling that the Spirit of Jehovah had departed, kept on increasing. No prophet now arose in Israel.[3] The Sacred Scriptures began to be closed, because,—as Josephus tells us, certainly in the spirit of this period,—where there was not a succession of prophets, there was no longer any security for the genuinely divine character of the Scriptures. The more the Deity was conceived of as transcendental and inactive, the more purely supernatural must its revelations and the monuments of them

[1] Ver. 26. [2] Chap. v. [3] Ps. lxxiv. 9.

have appeared in comparison with the religious literature of the present. The third division of our Canon, indeed, had necessarily to remain in a kind of intermediate position, and cannot have been absolutely closed. Psalms could scarcely be excluded when once they had got into the liturgy and become congregational hymns. The admission of the book of Esther into the Canon is readily explained by the popular character of its subject, and by its connection with a favourite festival. The writer of Chronicles, if he does not belong to an earlier generation, was the classical representative of the mood in which the ruling classes now looked at the past history of Israel. Finally, from its mysterious character and its enigmatic form, Daniel was particularly suitable for adoption into the Canon, as being a pseudonymous book which threw itself far back into antiquity. This adoption it secured owing to its great affinity with all the moving forces of this epoch.

With Greek supremacy, however, Greek culture, which was in many respects superior, began to make its influence felt. There was an attempt, first from Egypt by intellectual means, and afterwards from Syria by violence, to make the religious life of Israel as a nation amalgamate with Hellenic culture, which seemed at that time able to appropriate everything. Now the main effect of these efforts was just to make the Jews cling all the more resolutely to what was their own. As warriors and martyrs they steeled themselves to a heroic joy in their faith. Opposition to everything foreign grew apace; more and more emphasis was laid on their own sacred peculiarities. So far, therefore, contact with Hellenic culture only made Israel more determined to become purely "Jewish." But at the same time, at least among the Jewish community in Egypt, where in the second century the translation of the Holy Scriptures was begun, the way was prepared for an approach to Greek civilisation which afterwards had the most important consequences, not

only for the Jews of the Dispersion, but also for the mother country. Even in Palestine there was a considerable party which, it is true, resolutely upheld the princely position of the high priest, the rights of the Law, and the splendour of the national sanctuary, but which in other respects did not reject Hellenic culture, with its joys and its charm, and would have gladly contented itself with a hierarchy under an "enlightened" secular government. The origin of the Sadducees closely resembles that of the Pharisees.

2. The heroic war of independence, in which Israel victoriously defended the integrity of its religion and morality, and also gained, for a time at least, civil independence, had certainly very important effects on the religious life of the people. The spring of sacred song began to flow afresh. Faith in the power of the kingdom of God to overcome the world fired the hearts of the people with a new glow. They turned to the future with growing hope. Once more their pictures of the latter days were painted in glowing colours, and caught in some mysterious way the tone of ancient prophecy—as is shown by the book of Daniel, and, not very long after, by the oldest portions of the book of Enoch. A priestly kingdom having been successfully established which, like David of old, overthrew with the sword the hostile neighbour tribes, and compelled them to adopt the forms of the theocratic State, Messianic thoughts necessarily woke into newness of life, and the newly-dedicated sanctuary on Moriah became more and more a centre around which the faith of those myriads gathered who, in the east and the west, in the south and the north, were turning to the God of Israel and waiting for His salvation.

But the Jewish element, too, had to revive, with all its peculiarities more sharply defined than ever. Secular culture, even the most beautiful and most humane, that of the Greeks, was known to be at heart hostile to Jehovah. Hence the national and religious characteristics of Israel stood out

in sterner and more passionate opposition than before to everything foreign. And the feuds in Israel itself, which in those terrible struggles for existence had grown into deadly enmity, left indelible scars. Full and hearty unity of faith and practice was gone for ever. Lastly, sacred forms which had been the watchwords of those grand times, and for which the noblest had shed their blood,—circumcision, undesecrated sacrifices, the refusal to eat unclean food,—had thereby attained an importance among the people which could not be kept up without the merely external side of religion being made unduly prominent. The Asmonæan princes themselves would, we may presume, have been well content with the position of warlike despots, to whom their dignity as high priests brought a welcome addition both of glory and influence; and the priestly aristocracy were less keenly alive to Israel's hopes than to the laws on which their own power rested. But the people and their religious teachers clung with all the fervour of their souls to the holy forms and hopes of Israel, and were ever ready to risk for these their earthly all.

3. In the interval between the close of the Old Testament Canon and the rise of Christianity the current ran so strongly in favour of these particular tendencies, that productions of this age cannot, as a rule, be used as a means of gaining a direct knowledge of the revealed religion of the Old Testament. Where the essentials of the old faith are retained, as in the circles of Palestine coloured by Pharisaism, it is due to sheer conservatism. Zealous scribes endeavoured to dig out the treasures of the ancient sacred literature, certainly not without great arbitrariness of procedure and many a development foreign to the spirit of the old religion, as is necessarily the case with a piety growing always more formal, and in a generation tending to become "theological." A zeal for legality, fostered by priests who were developing more and more into a legal caste, helped to hide the spiritual

elevation of the old religion behind sacred forms, encouraged a "righteousness" very different from that which the prophets taught, and made the grand and suggestive acts of public worship which the law prescribed into a service still more magnificent indeed, but at the same time more and more one of mere outward form and ceremony.

But even in Palestine piety could not escape from influences tending to make the old religion move along lines which were in many respects alien to its true spirit. Evidently the Pharisees themselves, as a school, did not in their treatment of Scripture and in their eschatology escape the influence of Hellenistic development. And the Essenes engrafted still more firmly on the ancient stock of their holy religion an ascetic mysticism utterly foreign to it. Their decided spiritualism completely volatilises the essential freshness of the Old Testament religion, just as there is in the mysticism of all ages a tendency to modify doctrine and thus remove the barriers that separate historical religions. But least of all do the Sadducees agree with the religion which reached its highest development in the prophetic age. By their refusal to acknowledge the national and religious kernel in the religion of Israel, and by their restricting themselves to the development of legal morality, they approximated of necessity to the higher forms of heathenism. And since the pious among the people retained their connection with the religion of their fathers in the long run only through the medium of theology, they must necessarily have adopted many elements alien to the true spirit of Old Testament religion.[1]

But in the Greek world, and especially in Egypt, the old religion underwent a still more decided modification, through the influence of a composite Greek philosophy, which, in turn, was not without effect on the mother country. By allegorical use of the Greek translation of the Scriptures, the letter of which was vouched for as correct by a doctrine of magical

[1] Cf. Wellhausen, *Pharisæer.*

inspiration, the secrets of a speculative philosophy predominantly Greek were read into the Old Testament. Belief in a God unconnected with actual Being, except through the "powers" comprised in "the Word," took the place of the vigorous and healthy naturalism of the Old Testament. The body, being looked upon as the original seat of sin, was despised. This system was rounded off by a spiritualistic doctrine of immortality, and by a monkish withdrawal from the world. And these principles were sown broadcast over the Jewish world by a body of scribes both numerous and gifted.

This period accordingly, although historically of the utmost importance for understanding the soil in which early Christianity found itself, and with which it had to reckon, is not in any sense a stage in the development of the revealed religion of the Old Testament. Anything new which would be a real advance in the spirit of the old, this religion is no longer able to produce. And yet it is no longer sufficiently strong and vigorous to keep, whole and pure, what has been already won. Religious zeal is "not according to knowledge." The great merits of a religious and moral kind, which distinguish several of the books of this age, do not compensate for the uncertainty which everywhere pervades them in regard to the real essence of the Old Testament religion. The two tendencies at work in Israel since the eighth century, and always becoming, since the days of Ezra, more sharply defined, are now accentuated, and point clearly to their respective goals, to Christianity and to the Talmud.

4. The only one of the old sacred figures prominent in this age is the high priest; and he enjoys a dignity and influence quite new. In one respect, it is true, he is not what the ideal of the law pictures him. Hence important decisions are postponed till there shall stand up a high priest with Urim and Thummim,[1] that is, till the high

[1] Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65.

priest's office shall regain its ancient gift of prophecy. In point of fact, however, the high priest had for the people a much greater importance than ever before. The people recognised him both as their chief and as their representative with God. And worthily did he embody a present salvation when, in his sacred robes of office, he bestowed upon the people the blessing of their reconciled covenant-God.[1] After the struggle for independence the warlike high priests were, as kings and priests, the real masters in Jerusalem "the holy." And ingenious speculations were tacked on by Hellenism to the idea of a mediator, which the law had embodied in the high priest. For it the "Word" of God became the high priest of the universe.[2]

In this age the figure of the prophet disappears from view. In the Persian age one could already discern a gradual decay of prophecy. And it is not improbable that artificial imitation of the prophetic style of writing did not cease till Daniel's time. But, in the sense of the olden time, such writers were not prophets at all. They are in reality scribes of a peculiarly imaginative cast of mind. And though the books of Ezra and Nehemiah presuppose prophets and prophetesses in the newly-revived Jerusalem,—and these, it is true, such as follow for pay, in the interest of their respective parties, the old profession of false prophecy,[3]—that is neither a trustworthy historical account nor one of any importance for the "Greek" age. Ere

[1] Jes. Sir. l. 1 ff.

[2] Philo (ed. Gel., Frankf. 1691), 466 B, 509 B (where the edition of Mangey is not specially mentioned, it is always this edition of Philo which is meant, and which, for external reasons, I prefer to use wherever no importance is attached to a more exact development of Philo's system).

[3] Cf. the reproach in Neh. vi. 7 and the statement in vi. 10 ff. The question whether this judgment is also, as Graf thinks, an expression of pique at a resistance offered, not without justification, to the reform, conceived in a Levitical spirit, which Ezra and Nehemiah carried through by force, may be passed over here without discussion. But certainly he is right in this, that, in a priestly state with the Pentateuch finally closed, prophecy had practically no place at all. (The statements in Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 8, ii. 8. 12, iii. 8. 3; *Antiq.* xiii. 10. 17, are of a different character.)

long the days arrive when it is said, "We see not our signs, there is no more any prophet; neither is there among us any that knoweth how long."[1] The Maccabean age waits, with its institutions, for a trustworthy prophet who is to give the final decision.[2] And Daniel, with the literature to which his book gave rise, however high he may stand as an inspired guide, in an age of wild commotion, above the ordinary scribe, is not a prophet at all, but an apocalyptic writer. According to the book itself, Daniel is indeed represented as endowed "with the spirit of the holy Gods;"[3] but in his case, as in Joseph's, everything really happens through dreams and their interpretation. Indeed, it is from God that the heathen king himself, like Pharaoh of Egypt, gets his significant dreams.[4] Consequently the dress is artificial and transparent. The idea of a vision has already become so mechanical that this book thinks that it requires to be specially mentioned that Daniel's companions did not see the vision along with him.[5] Clearly, the whole book is an artificial work, dated back to an earlier age.

The sopher,[6] or scribe, now steps into the place of the prophet. In earlier days the word denotes the civil officer, next in importance to the maskir.[7] It then describes the professional dexterity of the "ready writer," who is specially skilled in the practice of his art.[8] In Jeremiah the false prophets, too, are described by this word as writers.[9] On the other hand, Baruch, Jeremiah's disciple, gets the same title, because he wrote down the prophecies of Jeremiah to the prophet's dictation, and then read them aloud.[10] But gradually the word gets the more definite meaning of scribe, "one learned in the Scriptures." In this sense it is even referred back to patriarchal times, for Enoch appears, in the book which bears his name, as "a writer of righteousness," who

[1] Ps. lxxiv. 9.
[2] 1 Macc. iv. 46, ix. 27, xv. 41.
[3] Dan. iv. 5, 6, 15, v. 11, 14 (x. 11, 19).
[4] Dan. i. 17, vii.–x.; cf. ii.–iv.
[5] Dan. x. 7.
[6] ספר.
[7] *E.g.* 1 Kings iv. 2 f. (with מזכיר).
[8] Ps. xlv. 2, ספר מהיר.
[9] Jer. viii. 8.
[10] Jer. xxxvi. 26.

announces their doom to the fallen angels, and, at their request, draws up their petition for mercy.[1] And the phrases of the older books are used in a new sense. Thus Ezra is called "a ready scribe in the law of Moses,"[2] *i.e.* an accomplished rabbi, a man specially well acquainted with the Law.

Since the time of Ezekiel and Zechariah prophecy had often shown a natural tendency to pass over into an acquaintance with Scripture. And in the artificial post-exilic prophecies there are still clearer proofs of this transition. The larger the Holy Scriptures became, the more writings there were by men of outstanding authority, and specially inspired of God, the more must the prophets that succeeded them, even when true prophets, have felt constrained to present these treasures to the people in a new form. Of the vanity that characterises authors, and their itching after "originality," these men of God knew nothing. The prophets of Israel desired nothing more than to communicate to the people the will of Jehovah as they knew it. Wherever they found that will well expressed they gladly appropriated their predecessors' work. And since the prophetic spirit could not but grow weaker, the more the religion of the people got a one-sided Levitical stamp, the more marked did this want of spiritual independence become. But as long as true prophets continued to appear, this weakness was always kept within certain bounds. However joyfully men might draw from the sacred wells of the older Scriptures, they still knew that they were entitled to speak words direct from God, words which, being from the same source as the older, were equally authoritative. To prove the truth of their own declarations they needed no written text. And they were not afraid to deal freely with Scripture, and even to controvert individual misleading expressions in it, and to correct them.

It necessarily became quite different when, in Israel, the

[1] In Dillmann's translation, xii. 3 ff., xcii. 1.
[2] Ezra vii. 6, 10; Neh. viii. 1, 9.

consciousness of a prophetic call was felt only at rare intervals or not at all. The change certainly was not sudden, but it was inevitable. Even on Ezra the scribe the gracious hand of God still rests. But all it now means is the providence and help of God; it is no longer the power which of old threw the prophets into fits of ecstasy.[1] As soon as men ceased to feel the spirit which they discerned in the Scriptures as a living force within themselves, they could no longer use these Scriptures with freedom, or place anything of their own beside them as of equal authority. The written word had the seal of the divine spirit of revelation. It was therefore authoritative. Hence the pious took God's instructions from Scripture as from a spring rising far above them. Any word or thought of their own was only right in so far as it could find support in these Scriptures, either direct or by way of inference. To contradict Scripture became something quite inconceivable. At the utmost, one declaration of Scripture might be modified and explained by comparison with another. Thus out of the *prophet* there grew the *scribe*, a man who no longer asks to be believed in virtue of a personal commission, but solely because of the acknowledged authority of the Holy Scripture upon which he bases his utterance. That scribes were needed was a proof that, so far as the Old Testament was concerned, religion had come to maturity. A religion which is still developing has prophets, one that is complete has only scribes. In like manner, and just about the same time in the domain of Greek culture, poetry is gradually passing over into philology and philosophy into scholasticism. Christianity alone, by adjudging the Divine Spirit to all its adherents, provided they are really such, permits the scribe to continue a prophet also.

In the memory of Israel, the great typical figure of this class is Ezra, the priest and scribe.[2] The two offices are

[1] Ezra vii. 9, 28, viii. 18, 22, 31; Neh. ii. 8, 18.
[2] Ezra vii. 6, 10; Neh. viii. 1, 9.

closely connected. Ezra's untiring efforts to build up, by means of Holy Scripture, a nation that would continue, in his sense of the words, a truly holy nation, make him the most outstanding figure in the later spiritual history of Israel. But a prophet in the real sense he is not, even in the view of that age. "He had set his heart to seek the law of the Lord and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments."[1] A special regard for the sacred statutes and ordinances runs through his whole work.[2] The theme of his sermons is the ancient sacred history.[3] He uses the "book of Moses," which was written by the servants of God, the prophets.[4] The new covenant, into which he makes the people solemnly enter, deals almost exclusively with the Levitical side of the Mosaic law.[5] But it is only in the great schools of the Greek age that the scribe begins really to flourish and grow to full maturity.

Henceforth the figure of the scribe does not lend itself to any properly typical religious use. For it is not a figure by which a religion can be either developed or completed. On the contrary, it readily becomes, from the nature of the case, a type of opposition to the true spirit of growth in a religion; because the work of a scribe is simply to hold fast what has been received, to work out in a mechanical way and definitely settle its religious contents. Nevertheless, from his personal importance, and from the tendencies of the age being all so akin to his spirit, the figure of Ezra actually came to be idealised by the popular imagination. Though at first rightly

[1] Ezra vii. 10.

[2] Ezra ii. 36 f., 42, 65, 69, 70, iii. 8, 10, 12, vii. 7, viii. 15 ff., 24 ff., x. 18.

[3] Neh. viii.; cf. ix. [4] Ezra iii. 2, vi. 18, ix. 11; Neh. viii. 1.

[5] Neh. ix. 38, x. 29 ff. Kuenen rightly lays emphasis on the fact that the lines on which Ezra's reforms proceeded necessarily gave the scribe, from the nature of the case, the upper hand even of the priest. For the living interests of the people were less bound up with the religious acts performed in the temple than with the network of laws which was spread over the whole life of the people, and which, being contained in Scripture, required the hand of the scribe to unravel it.

represented as the person who finally succeeded in refounding the State on the basis of the Levitical law, Ezra with his comrade Nehemiah soon appears as the first and only founder of the second Jerusalem.[1] Next he becomes the prophet Malachi,[2] and finally the wonderful head of the scribes, and the inspired restorer of Holy Scripture and of the seventy mystic books, the man who is taken up into Paradise like Enoch and Elijah.[3]

The art of the scribe was, it is probable, practised mainly in Levitical circles.[4] This class becomes always the stronger, the nearer we come to the close of the Old Testament development; and at last it gains the upper hand even of the priesthood. In Daniel, the prophet himself is already represented as also a scribe.[5] And Hitzig seems to me to be right in taking the מַשְׂכִּילֵי־עָם of this book,[6] not in the usual sense of "the intelligent among the people," but as meaning "those who make the people intelligent."[7] For a comparison of the passage with B. J. liii. 11, and the expression, "those who make the people righteous," point decidedly in this direction. Then the book already knows of a definite class of such "teachers of the law." Qoheleth is thinking of the schools of the scribes when he complains that of making many books there is no end.[8] And the prologue to Jesus the son of Sirach relates of the author of the book that he had devoted himself to reading the law, the prophets, and the other books of the fathers, and had had enough of practice in it. Finally, Jesus the son of Sirach himself shows a special predilection for the scribes as a class, and is anxious to have them kept

[1] 2 Macc. i. 18 ff. (also in Enoch; cf. Ewald, iv. 209 ff.).
[2] Targum to Mal. i. 1. [3] According to Ezra iv.
[4] Neh. viii. 7, 13. The Levites expound the law that has been read aloud; Ezra instructs the heads of the people in it.
[5] Dan. ix. 2. [6] Dan. xi. 33 ff., xii. 3.
[7] Ps. xxxii. 8, ci. 2; Prov. xxi. 11. In the book itself השכיל occurs mostly as intransitive, i. 4, 17, xi. 35, xii. 10 (ix. 13, 25); but, on the other hand, it is transitive in ix. 22.
[8] Eccles. xii. 12.

separate from the other classes.[1] But the time when the scribes were at the zenith of their power is really much later than this. It was only the labours by which the Canon was fixed, and the studies out of which the Mishna and the Gemara arose, that gave this most peculiar figure its characteristic stamp, and made it, from the Christian point of view, it is true, not a type of the Redeemer, but a type of the enemies of the true fulfilment of salvation. The heroic scribes of the final struggle against Rome show us figures which in themselves might well have had the power to embody, as did the Maccabæan saints, ay even as did the suffering servants of God during the Babylonian exile, the highest thoughts of the religion of redemption. But these men neither had nor claimed to have the creative spirit of the olden time. They are drier, more passionate and fanatical than the prophets, whose inward assurance is based on the spirit and not on a sacred text. The spiritual horizon of these workers is bounded by the formulæ of legal casuistry. They have no lack of beautiful moral and religious thoughts.[2] But they live not in these, but in the sacred forms of the law as expounded and "hedged in" by themselves.

5. Naturally, by the close of this period, Israel had fully gained, in regard to the Sacred Scriptures, the object that had been aimed at ever since the time of Ezra. The law of Moses, made accessible to the people by being read in public, regulated all the arrangements of daily life.[3] The book of Ezra itself refers to a word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah which had to receive fulfilment.[4] Daniel makes the writings of Jeremiah the subject of study; the Thorah and the other Scriptures are for him divine authorities of long standing.[5] The statutes of the law become the object of

[1] Jes. Sir. xxxviii. 24 ff., xxxix.

[2] Pirke Aboth.

[3] After the pattern of 2 Kings xxiii. 23 ff.; cf. Ezra iii. 2 ff., vi. 18; Neh. viii. 1 ff.

[4] Ezra i. 1.

[5] Dan. ix 2, 11.

the most earnest study and of the greatest love.[1] Chronicles already mentions the Psalter as Davidic and the Thorah as Mosaic, and thinks of the latter as a text-book in the hands of the Levites.[2] The stories in the Pentateuch, from that of the creation downwards, are made use of, from the standpoint of the scribe pure and simple, for purposes of edification.[3] In a word, one notices a strong inclination to regard Israel's literary inheritance as unique and inviolable, and therefore as having no connection with any of the religious literature of recent origin.

By the middle of the second century this was an accomplished fact. Jesus the son of Sirach already attributes the pre-eminent position of the great men of the Old Testament to their being the writers of the Canon. The twelve minor prophets he already mentions as a unity. The Chokmah literature he puts into close connection with the law-book, and the sacred history he uses for homiletic purposes.[4] Several chapters of the Wisdom of Solomon are really nothing more than a commentary on the Pentateuch;[5] while, on the other hand, it builds up theological dogmas on Scripture texts after the fashion of the rabbinical schools.[6] Baruch already quotes texts of Scripture as proof-passages.[7] In Tobit are found the laws regarding festival journeys and marriage, applications of sacred history, and quotations from Amos and Jonah.[8] Judith gives us explanations of sacred history already worked out in the style of legends, *e.g.* the flight of Abraham on account of the idolatry of his family.[9] The first book of the Maccabees, which regards "the burning of the

[1] Ezra vii. 10; Ps. cxix. (*e.g.* 1, 5, 8, 12, 16, 20, 23, 26, 30, 33–35, 40, 44, 47 f., 54–56, 60 f., 66, 70, 77, 80–83, 176, etc.); cf. Ps. lxxviii. 5, lxxxi. 6, 8 f., i.

[2] 2 Chron. v. 13, vii. 3, 6, xx. 21, xxiii. 18, xxv. 4, xxix. 25, 30, xvii. 9.

[3] Ps. xcv. 8–11, cv. 8–45, cvi. 8 to end, cxiv., cxxxvi. 6 ff.

[4] Jes. Sir. xvi. 7 ff., xvii. 1 ff., xxiv. 32 ff., xxv. 32, xxxvi. 14, xxxviii. 5, xl. 10, xliv.–xlix. incl. (xlix. 12).

[5] Wisd. Scl. x., xi., xvi., xvii., xviii.

[6] Wisd. Sol. ii. 23, xi. 17.

[7] Bar. ii. 2, 21 ff., 29 ff.

[8] Tobit i. 7, vii. 14, viii. 6 ff.; cf. ii. 6, xiv. 6 ff.

[9] Judith v. 6 ff., viii. 19 ff.

Holy Scriptures"[1] as the climax of the persecutions, declares that the Scriptures in the hands of Israel are a sufficient consolation in distress,[2] tells how at prayer these were spread out before God,[3] and delights to put the sacred stories to homiletical uses.[4] The second book of the Maccabees takes the term "sacred book" in a very external sense,[5] and often comments, as does the third book also, on the ancient stories.[6] In the book of Enoch, which, on the other hand, regards knowledge and the art of writing as among the original causes of sin,[7] Holy Scripture is imitated in a fashion very far from independent. The chief patterns that keep hovering before his mind's eye are Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Isaiah.[8] Time after time this book takes as its text the stories in Gen. i.–vi.[9] The Jewish Sibyl uses the Old Testament just as a scribe would do.[10]

But it was especially among the community in Egypt under the influence of the Platonic doctrine of inspiration that a constantly increasing respect was paid to the Holy Scriptures. They are raised more and more above the region of human activity and limitation. Their contents are represented as the pure word of God. Their authors must have been like harps, mere instruments for divine influence to play upon.[11] The sacred letter begins to be reverenced in a way which makes it possible to transfer even to its Greek translation the most extravagant ideas as to special action on the part of God.[12] And it was precisely this over-estimate of the letter

[1] 1 Macc. i. 59 ff.
[2] 1 Macc. xii. 9.
[3] 1 Macc. iii. 48.
[4] 1 Macc. ii. 52 ff., iv. 9, 30, vii. 16.
[5] 2 Macc. viii. 23.
[6] 2 Macc. vii. 6, xii. 15, xv. 9, 22; 3 Macc. ii. 4 ff., vi. 4 ff.
[7] Enoch lxix. 10 f.
[8] Enoch xiv. 8 ff., xciv., xcv.
[9] Enoch xxiv., xxv., xxxii. 3 ff.
[10] Cf. Hilgenfeld, *Jüd. Apok.* p. 82.
[11] Philo, ii. 516 A, 517 D, 518 B, 659 B, C.
[12] The legend about the letter of Aristeas; cf. Philo, 657 E ff.; Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 2 ff. In the fourth book of Ezra the working out of the doctrine of inspiration and of legends is worthy of notice, xiv. 22 ff.; cf. iii. 4 ff., 20 ff., iv. 30, vi. 6, 38 ff., 49, vii. 43.

which in turn made it possible to discover behind the letter, by allegorical forms and rules, hidden meanings utterly foreign to the literal sense.[1] A similar view of Scripture is also discernible in the well-known maxim of the Palestinian rabbi, "Be discreet in judging, train many scholars, put a hedge round the law."[2] In the time of Jesus this view was found wherever the word of Scripture was treated *theologically*. The spiritually destitute age felt the power of the Divine Spirit in the Holy Scriptures, and, being distinctly conscious of its own weakness, it made, out of books from every page of which the spirit of true religion breathed, an idol for its own spiritual poverty. "For the laity the priest is becoming more and more the only guide, and for the priest himself the sacred book and the sacred letter" (Ewald).

6. Prophecy through the medium of a scribe we term Apocalyptic.[3]

Prophecy did not change into this new form all of a sudden. Already in the visions of Ezekiel and Zechariah the pictures are, without doubt, mainly artistic, produced by a conscious effort of the imagination, and reference is, of set purpose, made to earlier prophecies. But this tendency is evidently worked out in an altogether different fashion in Daniel, the only canonical book which is of an apocalyptic character.

An apocalypse is a thoroughly arbitrary form of art. It is the product of a time of sore distress, when people are loth to acknowledge ignorance of the day and hour of deliverance. Hence, as there is no longer any direct prophetic certainty as to the divine will, they seek to get from Holy Scripture, by clever exposition, calculation, and combination, some clue to those judgments which they feel approaching. The apocalyptic seer lets the history of God's people, as it has developed up to his own day, pass before his spiritual

[1] Philo, 116 A, 359 E, 576 C, 1087 ff., 1190. [2] Pirke Aboth i. 1 ff.
[3] Smend, "Ueber jüdische Apokalyptik" (Stade, *Zeitschr. f. alttest. Wiss.* v. 223).

eye in a series of purposely mysterious pictures, and thus gets, as it were, a "philosophy of history" from the standpoint of Old Testament prophecy. But in order that this delineation of history may be conceived of as a vision, as the form requires, pseudonymity is almost indispensable. An ancient name is taken, especially one famous in sacred legend, such as Daniel,[1] Enoch, Ezra, Moses, the Sibyls, etc. The historical panorama, with all its details, is then represented as a vision of the future unrolling itself before the eye of some such prophet of the olden days.[2] To the initiated, at the time such books were composed, the various details were, of course, clear and simple, and easily indicated the author's real meaning. To the uninitiated they remained, as was intended, sealed books; and to after generations, able only to guess at those details, they often present problems barely soluble. But where *the actual future* begins for the author, the inferences from the historical development are of a very general character, but accompanied with definite dates as far as possible in accordance with old prophetic sayings. And as there is no direct prophetic certainty, but only calculation and inference, the picture of the future is wont to rise into the region of the mystical, the superhuman, the supernatural.

To the superficial eye, it is true, the power of prophecy seems stronger in the Apocalypses than anywhere else. The intentional obscurity of the pictures, the mass of details hinted at, in all of which the form of vision or ecstasy is invariably maintained,—the wide outlook on the world of history, as was quite natural in times when Israel's destiny could be settled only in connection with the destiny of world-wide empires,—all this produces the impression of a particularly high-pitched prophetic activity. But in reality it is just the reverse. Those details belong to the past, and are purposely handled in

[1] Ezek. xiv. 14, xxviii. 3.

[2] Gen. xlix.; Num. xxiv.; Deut. xxxii., xxxiii., etc., are already pieces of this character.

such a way that the initiated easily recognise them as such. For us, it is true, they are all the more frequently enigmas, not merely because we do not know the individual occurrences of those days, but also because we are not aware how the authors dealt, for example, with chronology, and what view of the events in question was then taken in pious Jewish circles. The form of the vision, the mysterious emphasising of infallibility and inviolability, are mere drapery, and are quite in keeping with the pseudonymity. But the actual sketches of the future are simply imaginative and magnified reproductions of sacred prophetic utterances, or else conclusions drawn from them in the spirit of theological pedantry. Daniel is the true pioneer and the permanent model of all his successors.

CHAPTER XX.

SPECIAL PHENOMENA OF THE LATEST OLD TESTAMENT AGE WHICH POINT FORWARD.

1. After the Exile a very considerable number of Israelites had remained behind in the east and the north, not possessing sufficient faith to stake their all on the doubtful future of the new Jerusalem, but, nevertheless, by no means inclined to give up connection with the people of God altogether. There was also, especially since the Greek period, a constantly growing number of Jews scattered all over the then civilised world engaged in trade and commerce, and some also in slavery. All of these men were kept in touch with the real centre of the holy people by means of the temple, the sacrifices and taxes, the pilgrimages, and the Holy Scriptures. Now these Jews of the Dispersion had in many respects an important influence on the development of religion. In the first place, they formed a natural bridge by which the true religion

could spread among the various nations of the world. In these circumstances many a rough idiosyncracy which made the national exclusiveness of Israel repellent to foreigners got smoothed down. Under the influence of the full culture of that age, monotheism and a pure morality necessarily became for them the central thoughts of their religious consciousness. And whatever spiritual influence arose among the Jews, whether a new philosophy of religion or a new Messianic message, it had access at once to the great stage on which the drama of the world was being enacted. In the second place, a people was thus spread all over the world which, amid the most diverse political and social surroundings, acknowledged *a single spiritual centre*. A kingdom of God was thus prefigured which would have no material power, and which would not force its members even into outward union. Thus amid manifold other differences there arose a unity of faith and morals. A world-wide religion of the true God was in course of preparation. It was already possible to say that among every people in every clime prayer was being offered up to the true God. That may well be the meaning of the beautiful passage: "For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the nations; and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name is great among the nations, saith the Lord of hosts."[1] The interpretation which takes these words as a prophecy is quite untenable. Again, from the whole tenor of Malachi's thought, and because the name of the covenant God is specially mentioned,[2] the idea that the prophet is describing all heathen sacrifices as offered, in

[1] Mal. i. 11.

[2] Baudissin has lately explained it thus: "Among all nations there are true worshippers of God whose service, although they worship God here under one name and there under another, is given only to the true God, *i.e.* to Jehovah" (p. 172). But such a conception appears to me to be too far beyond the horizon of this prophet, and neither Zech. xiv. 9 nor B. J. xxvi. 13 presents, as Hitzig thinks, any analogy to it. Both passages speak of the Israelitish belief in Jehovah's sovereign rights over the earth, not of the value of heathen worship.

the last resort, to the one true God, however beautiful and grand it is in itself, cannot be meant here. The prophet is pointing out, in contrast to the selfishness and petty avarice of the inhabitants of the Holy Land in regard to sacrifices, that far more valuable sacrifices are being offered all round about to the great God who is proving Himself more and more the God of the nations.

Most important of all was that community of the Dispersion which, in Egypt under the suzerainty of the Ptolemies, gradually rose to greater and greater prosperity. There Judaism came into contact with Greek culture. Shem and Japheth intermarried. There the Greek Bible originated. There a philosophy of religion grew up which transferred to the Old Testament religion, by means of allegorical exposition of the Scriptures, which it held to be magically inspired, the abstract philosophical conception of a spiritual God, and His manifestation in the *Word* and in the *powers*, as well as the characteristics of monkish ascetism, the dualistic view of the material world, and many other ideas of the composite Greek philosophy of those days. But this is not the place to deal fully with such questions. Suffice it to say, that this was a grand preparation for the breaking down of national barriers, and for the religion of Israel being transformed into a world-wide religion. It foreshadowed a Messianic kingdom without political glory.

2. That foreigners should live among the people of Israel and enjoy certain specified privileges in common with them, is not an absolutely new phenomenon.[1] In ancient times, indeed, it is not so much a real religious change that is thought of, as the simple fact of their becoming citizens and adopting the customs of Israel. The middle books of the Pentateuch refer, in most cases, to very late relations. But even the legislation of Deuteronomy pays attention to these

[1] Older literature: Leyrer in Herzog's *Realencyclopädie*, art. "Proselyten." The treatises of Slevogt, Müller, and Danz in Ugolino, *Thesaurus antiq. sacr.* vol. xxii.

"strangers within Israel's gates."[1] Such persons were not subject to all the restrictions of an Israelite, neither did they enjoy all his privileges. But if one may judge from the later development, they were bound to obey the civil laws, the laws in regard to cleanness and uncleanness, the general regulations as to sacrifice, the Sabbath law, and the laws prohibiting idolatry, blasphemy, and "abominable acts." They had the right to sacrifice, were entitled to every facility for carrying on business, and were, along with the poor and the Levites,[2] most warmly commended to the protection and the charity of the public. Such strangers could in time, if there were no special national or physical hindrances in the way, acquire the full rights of citizenship. When they had done so by being circumcised, they naturally had all the privileges of an Israelite, *e.g.* the right to celebrate the Passover.[3]

In the post-exilic period, however, these relations became of greater importance, and the laws by which they were regulated were probably much more exact and definite. The dispersion of Israel necessarily made the heathen nations better acquainted with the true religion; and this, combined with the waning influence of the old national religions, also made them inclined in many cases to adopt this religion. In supplements to the Old Testament, as, for instance, in Bel and the Dragon, but especially in pseudonymous productions which appeared under old heathen names like Orpheus and the Sibyl, Hellenistic Judaism began to attack heathenism and to seek proselytes. The exilic Isaiah in his day takes notice of the aliens "who join themselves to Israel."[4] Those

[1] Deut. v. 14.

[2] Deut. xiv. 29, xvi. 11, xxiv. 19, xxvi. 11; cf. Ex. xii. 19, xx. 10, xxiii. 12; Lev. xvi. 29, xvii. 8, xviii. 26, xx. 2, xxii. 18, xxiii. 22, xxiv. 16 ff., xxv. 6; Num. xv. 14, 29.

[3] Ex. xii. 48. Ancient Israel was not by any means a people that kept itself very pure nationally. The history of the tribe of Judah, especially, proves how readily, in earlier days, whole families belonging to another tribe were taken in; cf. *e.g.* Josh. xiv. 14.

[4] נלוה אל, B. J. lvi. 3, 6; Ezek. xlvii. 22 ff.

who fear God are mentioned, in the Psalms, soon after the return.[1] The post-exilic prophets show that proselytism is growing.[2] But it was principally after the Maccabean wars of independence that proselytes began to increase in importance. In addition to the ever-growing number of conversions through the power of the truth,[3] the conversion, by force, of the neighbouring peoples now commenced. The Idumeans were compelled by John Hyrcanus, and the Itureans by Aristobulus, to adopt circumcision. Pella was destroyed by Alexander, because it refused to accept Judaism.[4]

The two ways by which the Pentateuch, as we have just shown, allows strangers to enter into friendly relations with the religion of Israel, were afterwards more exactly defined by the Rabbis. Those who become real children of the covenant by baptism and circumcision are called "proselytes proper,"[5] and undertake the full observance of the law. The others are not circumcised, but have to pledge themselves to submit to the more general ordinances of the law, as these have been more definitely mentioned above. Only on these terms can Israel tolerate their presence.[6] For the Rabbis, naturally, the act of becoming a proselyte is no longer a semi-civil transaction, but a religious act of fundamental importance—a new birth.[7]

This increase in the number of proselytes is of great importance for the religion of Israel. Although a narrow barrier of external forms still limited the full right to citizenship in the kingdom of God, the idea of that kingdom was, at least, being gradually freed from purely national limitations.

[1] Ps. cxv. 11, 13, cxviii. 4. [2] Zech. ii. 11; cf. Ezra vi. 21; Neh. x. 28.
[3] Joseph. *c. Ap.* ii. 10.
[4] Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9. 1, 11. 3, 15. 4; xv. 7. 9; cf. *Bell. Jud*, xiv. 5. 3; *De Vita*, xxiii.
[5] גרי הצדק. (The baptism of proselytes is mentioned by Justin *c. Tryph.*, ed. Otto, ii. 48 f.)
[6] On this subject, cf. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes im Z. J.*, 2nd ed., ii. 548 ff.
[7] Talmud, Mass. Zenamoth ii.

Henceforth it was not descent from the patriarchs according to the flesh, but the religion of Israel and its forms, which was the necessary condition of being a child of God, a member of the kingdom of heaven. There had to rise before the eyes of the saints a community of God all over the world; and that no longer a national Messianic kingdom, to which the other peoples are submissively to do homage, but a Messianic kingdom of a religious character, the membership of which, with full possession of every privilege, is open to all who accept the true religion. All the healthy impulses of this age point to a bursting of Old Testament barriers, and to the national religion becoming universal.

3. In these days the temple, although it had no sacred ark of the covenant, was yet the object of a love and a pride, such as the people as a whole had never lavished on the temple of Solomon. Its pre-eminence as the one proper place of worship for the people was now absolutely uncontested.[1] In the time of the second temple, sacred songs and psalms reached the acme of perfection, not, indeed, in respect of originality and vigour, but as regards delicacy of form, smooth and pleasing diction, and a highly edifying tone.[2] But, meanwhile, another kind of holy place was coming into use and gradually growing in importance. Even during the Exile dire necessity and the want of a temple had forced the Israelites to hold religious meetings beside streams of running water, where prayers were offered, acts of purification performed, and the common edification promoted. Whether such meetings had already regular forms of worship and special buildings, may well be doubted, At least the passages from Ezekiel, which are so explained, may just as well be understood to refer to an arrangement purely personal to the prophet.[3] But when the

[1] The temple of Onias never became so famous as to rival the holy place on Mount Zion.

[2] Cf. *e.g.* the Psalms with the inscription "A Song of Ascents."

[3] Ezek. viii. 1, xiv. 1, xx. 1.

exiles returned the custom was kept up and gradually extended.

Houses of prayer were built in which the congregation met on the Sabbath day for the purpose of reading the Scriptures together and engaging in prayer. It had long been customary to pray at stated hours,[1] and to turn the face, while in the act of praying, towards Jerusalem.[2] The habit of reading the law had been introduced by Ezra.[3] These houses of prayer, or synagogues,[4] were very plain; not splendid places of worship, but merely congregational meeting-houses. Nothing more was needed than a book-press, a pulpit, seats for the congregation, and lamps; and the president, the elders, the beadle,[5] in a word, the officials, were freely elected from the congregation without regard to Levitical descent or class privilege. It is of such synagogues that the author of Ps. lxxiv. speaks when he mourns over the burning down of these holy places all over the land.[6] Everywhere among the Dispersion these houses of prayer were the centres of religious life.

The important bearing of this arrangement on religion is self-evident. It was not merely that there had been discovered, quite apart from the regular centre of worship, an external means of awakening a living religious life in the community. It was the actual beginning of a method of looking at the public worship of God quite different from that of the ancient people. Public worship was understood by ancient Israel, as by all ancient nations, to mean sacrifices, solemn feasts, and acts of asceticism. It was different now. For the great majority of the people, in their new surroundings, real religious work took quite another form. For all who lived at a distance from Jerusalem, the temple, with its

[1] Dan. vi. 11; cf. Ps. lv. 18.

[2] 1 Kings viii. 48; Dan. vi. 10.

[3] Neh. viii.

[4] בתי־הכנסת, *συναγωγή*, *προσευχή*, in Greek countries.

[5] ראש הכנסת, זקנים, חזן.

[6] Ps. lxxiv. 8, מועדי־אל. In Eccles. iv. 17, the reference to sacrifice shows that there the temple is spoken of.

beautiful service, continued to be the mysterious spot where God was present and where atonement was made, the outward expression of all the great ideas of religion, such as forgiveness of sins, submission to God, and intercourse between Him and His people. And this spiritual connection with the sanctuary was faithfully maintained. But it became, all the same, more and more symbolical. On the other hand, they had daily before their eyes a worship without Levitical priest, without sacrifice, without mystery or symbol, a worship the central feature of which was the edification of the heart by means of Holy Scripture and common prayer. Here, instead of a house of God, there was a house of the congregation. The individual Israelite had to consider his religion as the subject of his own knowledge, and to exemplify it in his own person and spirit. The liberty of speaking in turn prevented any sharp distinction between priest and layman. In this way these synagogues certainly helped more than anything else to make a religion possible in which animal sacrifice and sacred rites are given up and become mere types; in which union with God is maintained by means of His written word, edifying discourse, and congregational prayer; a religion in which there is no priestly caste, but a ministry for the teaching of the word open to men of every class.[1] How these synagogues served Christianity as the starting-point of foreign missions is well enough known. But the synagogue also turned the scale decisively in favour of the scribe as against the priest, and in favour of the Pharisee as against the Sadducee.

4. During this period the cycle of sacred seasons is increased by various kinds of new anniversaries. However,

[1] It is scarcely possible to imagine a direct change from sacrificial worship as it existed *before Josiah*, that is to say, *from the habit of including in sacrificial worship everything that was done in honour of Jehovah in the various districts of Israel*, to the spiritual worship of Christianity. But even when one starts with a *single place of worship*, it would be almost impossible without the synagogue as a link of connection to understand the practice of early Christianity.

none of these additional festivals is of any real importance for the religion of Israel. It will be enough to mention them in a word. Since the Exile, fasts, which are, however, looked upon by Zechariah as useless, and at variance with the grateful feelings of the people after the rebuilding of the city, are held on the 9th day of the fourth month, on the 10th of the fifth, on the 3rd (?) of the seventh, and on the 10th of the tenth.[1] Owing to the habit, then coming into vogue, of beginning the civil year with what was the seventh month of the sacred year, the 1st day of the seventh month came to be the civil New Year's Day.[2] The feast of Purim, dating from the Persian period, and probably itself of Persian origin,[3] has lustre shed upon it in the book of Esther by a popular legend; and perhaps it was just this which first commended it to the Palestinian Jews. It fell on the 14th and 15th of Adad, a month before the Passover.[4] It became customary to celebrate the feast of the Purification of the temple on the 15th of Kislev.[5] Other feasts, like the feast of the Wood-carriers,[6] the feast of the reading of the Law,[7] the feast of Nicanor,[8] the feast of the Captured Fortress,[9] and the feast of Baskets,[10] evidently never attained to any real religious significance.

5. Decay of spiritual power inevitably results in a loosening

[1] Zech. vii. 3, 5, viii. 19.

[2] The harvest feast, according to Ex. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22 (1 Sam. i. 20; Isa. xxix. 1, xxxii. 10), is the feast at the end of the year. Hence the New Year can scarcely have been celebrated in Israel originally in the autumn; Neh. viii. 2, 9–12; Joseph. *Antiq.* i. 3. 3.

[3] The feast of the departed? Cf. de Lagarde, *Abhandlgn.* 163 ff. and elsewhere.

[4] יום־הפורים, Esth. ix. 24–26, iii. 7; ἡ Μαρδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα, 2 Macc. xv. 37 (on the 13th Adar, תענית אסתר).

[5] ἐγκαίνια, חנכת הבית, 1 Macc. iv. 56, 59; 2 Macc. x. 6 ff. (cf. Joseph. *Antiq.* xii. 7. 7, φῶτα).

[6] ξυλοφορίων, Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 17. 6.

[7] Ezra (Greek) ix. 50 (?).

[8] 1 Macc. vii. 49 (13th Adar).

[9] 23rd of second month; 1 Macc. xiii. 50, 52.

[10] Philo, supplement to the treatise "De Septenario," by Mai (*De Cophini Festo*, Milan 1818).

of the inner unity which binds together those who are engaged in furthering the development of religion. Their differences are accentuated till they end in the formation of sects,—a clear proof that the real life has ceased to pulsate. No doubt this phenomenon is witnessed even during the period when canonical books are still being produced. This is very easily seen by comparing Ecclesiastes with Daniel. In the first book the author carefully avoids everything national and theocratic, prophetic and positive, confines himself to the few main principles of a moral religion of reason, and verges on the utmost limits of doubt. In the other, the author is all aglow with national and religious feeling, and possessed with an inward passion for the realisation of Israel's hopes. But he lays undue emphasis on sacred forms, exaggerates the miraculous, revels in eschatological scenes, and has a most exalted idea of prophecy. A period in which two such books could be written and put into the Canon together must have been already plunged in the gravest uncertainty by the weakening of its spiritual power, and that, too, in the very circles which gave religion its tone. The old antagonism between prophetic and ethical literature is here carried in a one-sided way the length of open rupture; while the book of the son of Sirach merely develops the old religious philosophy of the common people in a more homely fashion than before, the style being occasionally no higher than that of a shrewd man of the world. And the whole history of the Syrian wars is quite unintelligible, unless it is taken for granted that the attempts of the Syrian king in favour of the Greeks found even among the upholders of religion in Israel a very strong party, accustomed to interpret the Old Testament religion in a sense favourable to an amalgamation with the ethics and philosophy of the Greeks.

This tendency to divisive courses, partly, it is true, quenched in blood during the frenzy of the War of Independence, began to develop into more definite and tangible forms under the

Asmonæan rule. Not merely different schools of thought, in other respects in essential harmony, but actual "sects," claimed the religion of Israel as their rightful inheritance. In view of the many difficulties of the question, a full description of these sects cannot be expected in a brief incidental sketch like this.[1] We shall content ourselves with indicating, in a word, the essential characteristics of each. The Sadducees[2] were the *priestly aristocracy* of the sons of Zadok, who laid stress on the Law and its observance, but not on the interpretations of it current among the popular schools of learning. They were hostile to everything like prophetic enthusiasm, which might endanger the constitution of the State and injure the authority of the existing order of things. The Pharisees, on the other hand, as the real *leaders of the pious people*, attached more and more importance to the peculiar holiness of Israel and to its national and religious aspirations.[3] The community of the Essenes[4] represented a *mystic and ascetic spiritualism*, a principle that acted like a solvent, and tended to amalgamate with the Old Testament doctrines every ascetic and mystical view in any way akin to them,—no matter whether it can be historically proved that they were under the influence of Greek-Pythagorean elements or only of Alexandrian Hellenism, or whether kindred tendencies developed simultaneously, but independently, in several different

[1] Cf. especially Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, Greifswald 1874.

[2] As to their history and position, cf. Mishna, Masseceth Jadhaïm (מסכת ידים) iv. 6–8; Masseceth Niddah (מסכת נדה) iv. 2; cf. Pirke Aboth i. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5. 9, 10. 6, xviii. 1. 2, 4, xx. 9. 1; *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14.

[3] On these cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5. 9, 10. 6, 15. 5, 16. 2, xvii. 2. 4, xviii. 1. 2 f.; *De Bell. Jud.* i. 5. 2, ii. 8. 14 (iii. 8. 5, vi. 5. 4, where, according to *De Vita*, xxxviii., ii., he himself develops Pharisaic principles); Matt. ix. 11, 14, xii. 14, xv. 1 ff., xxii. 15 ff., xxiii. 13 ff.; Mark vii. 3; Luke v. 17, 30, vi. 2, 7, xi. 39, 43, xviii. 11; John vii. 48, iii. 1, ix. 15 ff.; Acts v. 34, xv. 5, xxiii. 6 ff.

[4] On these cf. Photius (ed. Beck.), 86*a*, 35; Philo, 876, 889 ff.; Joseph. *De Vita*, ii.; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 2–13; *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 9, xv. 10. 4 f., xviii. 1. 5, 2; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 17 (Philo, Fragm. in Euseb., ed. Mg. ii. 632 ff.); Porphyr. *De Abst.*, ed. A. Nauck, 171, 9 ff., mentions only what Josephus says.

religious fields.[1] In addition to these, there is the Alexandrine philosophy of religion, strictly so-called, which was thoroughly steeped in the Greek spirit, and the theosophy just beginning in the circles of advanced Pharisaism. The spirit of revelation that carried forward the development of the true religion had no longer any living influence over the people. But when life leaves a body, decomposition begins, and the unity of that body is at an end. It was only the reaction against Christianity, and the final victory of Pharisaism, after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, that forced these various schools to unite once more under the rigid uniformity of dogma and statute.

6. The decay of religious power is also shown in the possibility of a scepticism such as we see in Ecclesiastes. The book of Job, it is true, already indicates how questions and doubts of the gravest kind are calling for attention, and declining to be simply waived aside by faith. These doubts persist in developing in all directions, and, without being really solved, are overcome only by the immediate influence of trust in God. But in Job it is not, after all, a question of real theoretical scepticism. The problem which is raised there forces itself on the attention of every one as a practical temptation. And however fearlessly the whole truth regarding this problem is stated in Job, the believing view of the world, it is clear, has still strength enough of its own to gain the victory without the understanding being really satisfied.

It is quite otherwise in this remarkable book. This will, it is true, not be the verdict of any one who, like Vaihinger, sees in its author, not a sceptic, but a profound dialectician, cutting his way through doubt to certainty, through error to truth, and to whom a future life and a final judgment are

[1] Cf. Zeller (on the connection between the Essenes and the Greeks) against Ritschl, who takes the universal priesthood as the starting-point, *Theol. Jahrb.*, ed. Baur und Zell. 1855, iii., 1856, iii.

absolute certainties. But such an one can hardly have felt much of the terrible melancholy which runs all through the book. The deeper one gets into the heart of this book, the more strongly will one feel that the doubt expressed in it is no mere dialectic show, but a doubt that is honestly felt, and that does give way before the certainty of a moral order in the world, but only after a hard struggle.

The problem of Ecclesiastes does not depend on a practical temptation which assails an individual. It is a question of a purely theoretical temptation, founded on a clear and inexorably real contemplation of the world of experience. Is there any lasting eternal good at all? Is not the moral and spiritual world, with its demands and results, an illusion? Look where we may, no effort, no success, produces in the long run a permanently satisfying result. Pleasure, power, honour, ay, even wisdom, and the striving after spotless integrity, are all vanity.[1] An unalterable order of nature is constantly ending, and as constantly beginning from the old starting-point.[2] Man, with his griefs and joys, his desires and passions, stands amid it all a child of his age, dependent in his inmost life on the course of nature.[3] There is no new thing under the sun;[4] and to everything there is a season.[5] There is no justice on the earth.[6] Mere chance, not wisdom or ability, determines a man's destiny.[7] A little folly often outweighs wisdom and honour.[8] No effort can secure enjoyment even in this life. It can be taken only as a gift, bestowed by God.[9] And who guarantees a further development after death?[10] To be dead, and in the kingdom of the dead, is worse than to live in the greatest misery; there is no joy

[1] Eccles. i. 2, ii. 11, 17, 23, iii. 10, 19, iv. 7, xii. 8; cf. ii. 1 ff., 8, 10; cf. i. 4 f., iv. 4; cf. ii. 5 f., iv. 16; cf. vii. 15 f., viii. 10; cf. i. 13, 17 f., ii. 12, 15.
[2] Eccles. i. 4 ff., 9 ff., iii. 15.
[3] Eccles. iii. 1–9.
[4] Eccles. i. 9.
[5] Eccles. iii. 1–9.
[6] Eccles. iii. 16 f., iv. 1, vii. 15 f., viii. 14, ix. 1–4.
[7] Eccles. ix. 11, x. 5 f.
[8] Eccles. x. 1.
[9] Eccles. ii. 25 f., iii. 12 f., v. 18, ix. 7 f.
[10] Eccles. iii. 18 ff.

there at all, and no feeling of any kind.[1] Thus the book comes to the most bitter despair about life in general.[2] The happiest is he who is never born.[3] It is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting. The day of death is better than the day of birth.[4]

In this way the book sounds all the depths of scepticism. The chief pillars of morality and religion seem to be shaken, and nowhere can any really triumphant and joyful faith be discovered. Nevertheless the book has two sides, to which, despite its peculiarities, its canonicity is probably due, and which make it useful even to the Christian. In the first place, its doctrine of the insignificance of all success and of the pettiness of human effort, compared with the mighty forces of nature, contains a truth which can elude no one who has any depth of thought. A tone of sincere resignation and practical wisdom pervades the book. In the next place, scepticism in the sphere of practical morality is unhesitatingly overcome. Though everything may be doubtful, and the riddles of existence prove insoluble, the moral order which God has ordained is the portion of man. Of that he may be sure.[5] And this practical wisdom of piety, although it may not shield from every ill,[6] is nevertheless an incomparable good[7] as contrasted with folly.[8] Even evil itself, if it tend to discipline the heart, has its value.[9] Wisdom, which is sought for in vain along the path of subtle inquiry and self-torment,[10] lies open in the divine ordinances, and is to be had for the taking. The sum of it is: "to take without anxiety and self-annoyance the good with which God strews one's path of life,[11] and, even where one cannot understand, to believe firmly

[1] Eccles. ix. 5–10.
[2] Eccles. ii. 17, 20.
[3] Eccles. iv. 2 f.
[4] Eccles. vii. 1 f.
[5] Eccles. xii. 13; cf. iii. 14, v. 6, vii. 18.
[6] Eccles. ii. 14 ff., vi. 8 f.
[7] Eccles. ii. 13 ff., vii. 11 ff., viii. 1 ff., ix. 13 ff., x. 2 ff., 10 ff., xii. 1.
[8] Eccles. i. 17, ii. 12, 14, x. 2.
[9] Eccles. iii. 14, vii. 3–5.
[10] Eccles. vii. 18 f. 23 f., (cf. Job xxviii. 11 ff.).
[11] Eccles. iii. 12 f., v. 17, vi. 2 f., viii. 15, ix. 7 ff., xi. 7, 9.

that God ordains with equal wisdom[1] both evil and good; to be convinced that He has made all things good, that He has created man upright and put eternity in his heart, so that guilt and evil belong only to the creature;[2] and finally, to continue mindful of the divine ordinances of moral life, and not forget that the God, who guides the destinies of all, judges every human life according to this moral ordinance of His."[3]

One may well assume that, although there may be in Ecclesiastes an expression of a special personal opinion, it is still on the whole in agreement with the later Sadducean view of the world. The view of Ecclesiastes, too, that even a bad foreign government, as such, is a benefit,[4] is quite in accordance with the opinion of the Sadducees, and the warning against making many books and of overmuch righteousness[5] is probably aimed at the scribes and that spirit of legality by which later Pharisaism is marked.

7. When the power of a religion is waning, resistance to foreign elements hostile to its innermost essence must in the long run become weaker and weaker, till at last a fusion is effected. The books that are still being taken into the Old Testament show, it is true, sufficient power of resistance to whatever is foreign. If we do find in Chronicles and in Daniel a certain tendency to develop the doctrine of angels and devils in the direction of the Persian view,—in Daniel the resurrection, in Ecclesiastes a sort of approximation to the view of the world held by critical philosophy,—nevertheless the traces are all very faint, and are rather hints as to the

[1] Eccles. vii. 14.

[2] Eccles. iii. 11, vii. 29.

[3] Eccles. xi. 9 ff., xii. 14. That there is no question here of a future life and of reward or punishment in it, is also shown by the context in xi. 7 ff. and xii. 1 ff. Besides, it could hardly contribute to the joy of a man's life on earth to be reminded of the judgment. Reference to a future life, if the last sections of the book are to be held as genuine, is absolutely incompatible with the eschatology of the rest of the book. It is only the judgment of God as that is carried out in a man's lot in life and in his death, as, *e.g.*, Ps. i. 5, etc.

[4] Eccles. v. 8; cf. Rom. xiii. 3.

[5] Eccles. vii. 16; cf. v. 1, 3, 4.

possibility of a foreign development than proofs of its presence.

This tendency shows itself with all the greater clearness in the later books of Jewish religious literature which never became canonical. The influence of the Greek schools of philosophy is everywhere seen in the Jewish books which originated in Alexandria, in the productions of those circles out of which the Septuagint arose, to which are due the book of the Wisdom of Solomon, Baruch, the second book of the Maccabees, and the translation of Jesus the son of Sirach,—which has given us the pseudonymous literature of the Sibyls, the Orphic songs, etc.,—and which found in Philo their classical representative. The effects of this composite learning, combined with Oriental influences, and probably also strengthened by direct contact with Greece, were widely felt in the schools of learning in Palestine. The mystic theosophy which is already visible in Enoch, which peeps out in the Targums, and which, being nursed in the circles of the Essenes and the Pharisees, grows into cabbalistic wisdom, properly so called, rests on foundations essentially foreign to the religion of the Old Testament. And the influence of Asiatic legends accommodated to the popular view, is plainly enough seen in the angelology and demonology of the book of Tobit. Thus the most divergent foreign views begin to flow in like a flood on the religion of Israel.

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